

The Tyndale Society Journal



No. 31
August 2006

About the Tyndale Society

Registered UK Charity Number 1020405

Founded in 1995, five hundred and one years after Tyndale's birth, and with members worldwide, the Tyndale Society exists to tell people about William Tyndale's great work and influence, and to pursue study of the man who gave us our English Bible.

Members receive 2 issues of the *Tyndale Society Journal* a year, invitations to social events, lectures and conferences, and 50% discount on subscriptions to *Reformation*.

To join the Society or to request more information please contact our Membership Secretary (details on inside back cover of this Journal).

For more information about the Tyndale Society visit: www.tyndale.org

Trustees

Prof. David Daniell, Sir Rowland Whitehead, Bt, Mr Peter Baker, Ms Rochelle Givoni, Ms Mary Clow, Ms Charlotte Dewhurst, Rev. David Ireson, Revd Dr Simon Oliver, Dr Barry Ryan, Ms Jennifer Bekemeier.

Patrons

His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, Rt. Rev. and Rt. Hon. Lord Carey of Clifton, Baroness James of Holland Park, Lord Neill of Bladen QC, Prof. Sir Christopher Zeeman, Mr David Zeidberg.

Advisory Board

Sir Anthony Kenny, Pro Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Prof. Sir Christopher Zeeman, former Principal, Hertford College, Oxford, Mr Anthony Smith, President, Magdalen College, Oxford, Mrs Penelope Lively, Mr Philip Howard, The Times, Sister Anne O'Donnell, Catholic University of America, Washington DC, USA, Prof. John Day, St Olaf's College, MN, USA, Prof. Peter Auksi, University of Western Ontario, Canada, Dr Guido Latré, UCL and K.U. Leuven, Belgium, Prof. David Norton, University of Wellington, New Zealand, Mrs Gillian Graham, Emeritus Hon. Secretary.

Tyndale Society Publications

Reformation

Editors: **Prof. John N. King**, *Humanities, English & Religious Studies, The Ohio State University, 164 West 17th Ave (Rm421), Columbus, OH 43210-1370, USA. Phone: 1+614 292 6065/fax:7816 email: king.2@osu.edu*

Prof. Andrew Hadfield *email:a.hadfield@sussex.ac.uk*

Commenced Publication 1996 • 1 issue a year • ISSN: 1357 - 4175

The Tyndale Society Journal

Editor: **Mrs Valerie Offord**, *Le Grouet, 31 route de Pré-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland; Phone/Fax: +41(0) 22 777 18 58, email: valerie.offord@bluewin.ch*

Editorial Assistant: **Mrs Judith Munzinger**, *email: jmunzinger@compuserve.com*

Commenced publication 1995 • 2 issues a year • ISSN: 1357-4167

Cover Illustration by Paul Jackson • Design by Paul Barron Graphics • Copyright of all material remains with the contributors.

Contents

The Tyndale Society Journal ♦ No. 31

August 2006

Instructions for submission of articles	4
Valerie Offord <i>Editorial</i>	5
Articles:	
Anne Hudson <i>The Premature Reformation</i>	9
Reports:	
Eunice Burton <i>London Walk and Study Day</i>	21
Brian Buxton <i>A Walk through Early Tudor London</i>	23
Ann Manly <i>London Study Day Concert by the English Chamber Choir</i>	25
Andrew Hope <i>New Research on Humphrey Monmouth</i>	28
Review article:	
Peter Richards <i>All manner of books</i>	35
Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2006	39
Letters to the Editor:	
David Green, John Flood, Richard Carter	40
Book Reviews:	
Neil Inglis <i>Anne Boleyn: A new Life of England's Tragic Queen</i>	42
Margaret Clark <i>The Swiss Reformation</i>	45
Amy Caldwell <i>The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church</i>	47
Margaret Clark <i>Mass and Parish in late Mediaeval England: The Use of York</i>	49
Ralph Werrell <i>The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology</i>	50
Sarah Covington <i>Fisher of Men: A life of John Fisher 1469-1535</i>	52
Raymond Chapman <i>Whose Bible is it? A history of the Scriptures through the ages</i>	54
Mary Clow <i>Why I am still an Anglican</i>	56
Worcester Conference 2007	56
North American News:	
Jennifer Bekemeier <i>Report</i>	57
2 nd International Tyndale Conference Virginia, USA.	58
Exhibition Reviews and News:	
David Green <i>Saint John's Bible</i>	59
Valerie Offord <i>Holbein in England</i>	60
Eunice Burton <i>The Wardington Library Bible Auction</i>	61

Cost of advertisements	63
Press Gleanings:	
Valerie Offord <i>That which was lost is found</i>	64
The Friends of God by Tim Reeve	64
Ploughboy Notes	
David Ireson <i>Reflections on a Visit to Harvington Hall</i>	65
Victor Perry <i>Some Recent Books with a Tyndale Perspective</i>	67
Bill Cooper <i>Review of www.greatsite.com</i>	69
Sightings of Tyndale	
Competition – Where is it?	71
Requests from the editor	72
Dates for Your Diary	73

Submission of articles for the journal

Please send items to the Editor at the address on the inside front cover of this issue. Submissions can be made on paper (post or fax) or electronically (floppy disk for PC or e-mail). Electronic submissions should be in the form of a word-processor document file (preferably Word, although we can deal with some versions of WordPerfect), and a version in plain text or Rich Text format. For e-mail submissions, the document or Rich Text files should if possible be sent as attachments and the body of the message should contain the article as simple plain text. However, in case of difficulty with email attachments, it is acceptable to send the article solely as plain text in the body of the message. The deadline for submission of articles to the next issue is **Friday 3 November 2006**.

Please note that neither the Tyndale Society nor the Editor of this Journal necessarily share the views expressed by contributors.

Editorial

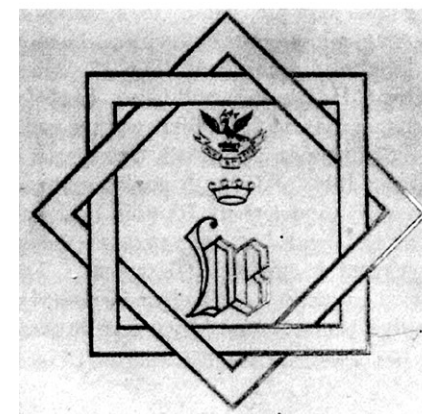
Valerie Offord

Let us speak of bugges, camels, lions, owls, moles, or perhaps of standing fishes, vinegar, treacle, fools, unrighteous, wife beaters, breeches and diglots. A strange and varied list but with a common thread.

The late Lord Wardington, bibliophile par excellence, would have had no difficulty whatsoever in solving this conundrum. His covetousness-inducing bible collection came under the hammer at Sotheby's recently: in an essay on the English Bible, reprinted as an introduction to the Auction Catalogue, he remarked that his main interest was collecting bibles. The listed words are, of course, with the notable exception of a diglot, the names of bibles with unusual renderings and misprints.

A friend, who caught me enthusing about this fine collection of bibles and dreaming of owning them, asked rather incredulously why should I want to do such a thing? Well, to collect anything implies an interest in and appreciation of the object concerned. If it yields a fortune, as did the Wardington Bible collection, albeit over several generations, so much the better.

Bible collecting is becoming an increasingly popular hobby judging by the number of museums being established and by the prices asked for even individual leaves of old Bibles. The prices attained for lots at the recent Sotheby's auction were all well above the estimates. Some collectors go for Bibles with misprints. Take, for example, the *Camel Bible* of 1823 where Genesis 24:61 reads '*And Rebekah arose, and her camels...*' rather than '*and her damsels...*'. Or what about the well-known adage '*Know ye that the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of God*'. Surely this sounds vaguely familiar? Indeed, in the current political climate of the world some are already of this opinion. This is, of course, the famous misprint of 1 Corinthians 6.9, contained in the aptly named *Unrighteous Bible* of 1653. *The Owl Bible* was so called because of a damaged printing plate



Lord Wardington's Bookplate

where 'own' became 'owl' due to a damaged 'n'. Even those who are not dedicated biblical scholars are aware of the *Wicked Bible* of 1631 which states in Exodus 20:14 'Thou shalt commit adultery'.

Tyndalians fortunate enough to attend the pre-sale viewing of the Wardington Bible Collection enthused over the so-called *Mole Bible* (an edition of *Tyndale's New Testament* printed in Antwerp 1536) with its marvellous woodcuts. The attribution arises from the fact that one of these woodcuts shows St Paul resting his foot on a stone which bears the figure of a mole.

Bibles studies, bible sales, bible research, bible translations are indeed the overwhelming theme of this issue. Prof. Anne Hudson in the lead article *The Premature Reformation*, a printed version of her fascinating paper delivered at the Lichfield Conference in May 2006, discusses the life, writings and influence of John Wyclif. In the course of her studies she must have consulted more Wyclif bible manuscripts than most of us even knew still existed!

Our indefatigable reporter Eunice Burton has written on the above-mentioned *Wardington Library Bible Auction* as well as the *London Walk and Study Day* held at St Andrew by the Wardrobe, a sacred place since 1245, as its information leaflet proudly boasts. I have news for the compiler. It is still unknown to those most informed of people, London taxi drivers, after all those centuries! Third time lucky and I was transported to the steps by a driver who announced it was called *by the Wardrobe* after 1361 when the Great Wardrobe, housing Edward III's robes of state in the Tower, was given new quarters adjacent to St Andrew's. But I digress. The *London Study Day* concentrated on the lives and activities of Thomas Poyntz and Humphrey Monmouth, men who played a key role in helping Tyndale to print and market his English Bible. Delegates stood on the site of St Paul's Cross where sermons were preached and bibles burnt. In retrospect Bishop Tunstall should be dubbed the hero of the book trade – his burning of bibles only served to stimulate the book trade in the 16th century and has lined the pocket of bible dealers and collectors in the 21st century. Brian Buxton and Andrew Hope, the speakers on that occasion, are still honing their researches. There is a report of Andrew Hope's paper on *Humphrey Monmouth* in this issue and we are hopeful that Brian Buxton will publish his exciting findings on *Henry Poyntz* in the future.

Eunice's report on the *Lichfield Conference* will appear in a later issue. She will no doubt write of the wonderful opportunity delegates had to handle and, indeed, buy old Scandinavian Bible leaves (Icelandic and Danish) thanks to our member in Denmark, Peter Raes, whose generous act of donating the proceeds to the Conference coffers was an original and welcome way of boosting its finances.

The *Book Review* section has greatly expanded this time and it has been most encouraging to receive so many reviews from members. My editorial assistant can always be kept happy with a Neil Inglis book review to proof read (I always try to send it to her between the more pedantic and routine items like adverts and requests from the editor!). She was delighted with Neil's offbeat discussion of a new book by Joanna Denny on Anne Boleyn. Margaret Clark has kindly written two reviews on different subjects *Mass and Parish in late Medieval York* and *The Swiss Reformation* by Bruce Gordon. The editor was so pleased to find an enthusiastic reviewer for a continental book. Be assured there is a growing and excellent volley of these appearing; hence the inclusion of a review of Mark Taplin's book on the *Italian reformers and the Zurich Church*. Mark my words: ignore 16th century Italian religious history at your peril!

The news and support from North America is most encouraging. In September 2007 there will be a 2nd *International Virginia Tyndale Conference* with the theme 'How the Bible came to America'. This is being held in conjunction with the 400th anniversary celebrations of the establishment of a settlement at Jamestown. Europeans should start saving for their air fares to the US right now or perhaps we should go by sea using the same means of transport as the original Virginia settlers. It would be environmentally responsible and readers of recent newspaper reports will know that it would have the Anglican Bishop of London's blessing!

The remarkable illuminated 7-volume manuscript Bible commissioned to mark the Millennium by the monks of the Benedictine Abbey and University of St John's, Minnesota was discussed last year in the Journal by Donald Smeeton. In this issue David Green reports in *Exhibition Reviews and News* on the small exhibition mounted recently in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. Watch out as this exhibition could be on show in a location near you. Back to Wyclif? Yes possibly but with a difference, as this recent project uses old techniques with computer-generated back up. Vic Perry has outlined 'Some Recent Books with a Tyndale Perspective'. Bill Cooper has assessed and commented on the *Greatsite Bible* website – his commercial reticence prevented him contacting them to have them place an advert with us. Is there any one out there with selling techniques willing to chase up adverts for the *TSP*? It would certainly enable its hard-pressed editor to improve the quality of production and even occasionally launch into colour illustrations.

In *Ploughboy Notes* David Ireson ponders on the significance of his visit to Harvington Hall in the Midlands. We have had a competition at a Con-

ference but never in the Journal. The editor awaits with impatience your ingenious replies from our politically incorrect *Sightings of Tyndale* column! Incidentally this feature was started with the idea of reader participation. The editor seems to be the only active contributor left!

There are many exciting publications and events advertised in this issue – read it carefully, note the details in your diaries and resolve to attend. You will not be disappointed. Tyndalians are interesting and are often people with surprising and unsung talents.

I should like to thank everyone who has helped in any way with this issue – writers of articles, reviews, reports, letters and advertisers. My editorial assistant, Judith Munzinger, withdrew as is her wont to her mountain chalet for some serious editing but this time she invited the editor to stay with her. Are telephone signals that weak in the mountains, has the postman gone on strike or did my envious remarks finally become too obvious? Anyway we are thinking of forming a publishing company - Biblical Mountain Productions, Inc.!

May your bible collections thrive, whether they be first editions, manu-

scripts, finely bound editions, bibles printed in defunct or rarely spoken languages or just plain bible leaves. If there are any stray camels, owls, moles or wicked remarks herein contained please regard them as *Forgotten Sins* (1638). I will surely use as my defence the famous misprint of the *Printers' Bible* c. 1702 --

*'Printers have persecuted me
without a cause'.*

Psalm 119:161



Tyndale's New Testament Antwerp 1536 known as the Mole Bible

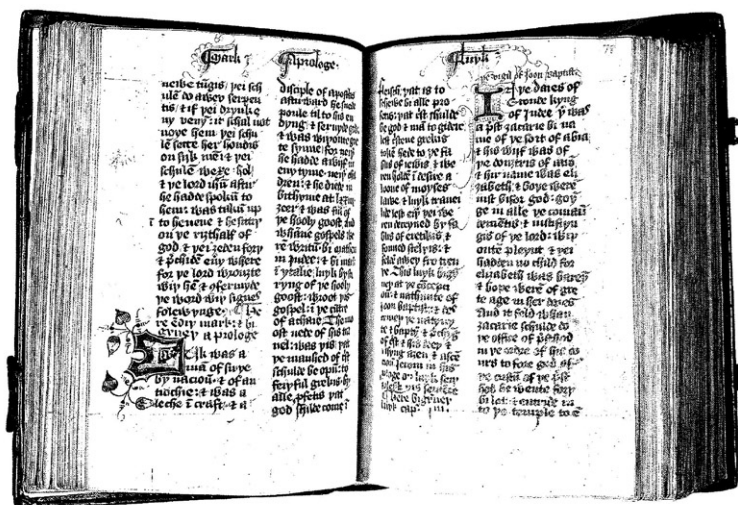
The Premature Reformation

Prof. Anne Hudson, University of Oxford

Keynote lecture delivered at the Tyndale Lichfield Conference May 2006

The subject of my ongoing studies, and the topic of this paper, is the life, writings and influence of John Wyclif who died in 1384, a subject that continues to arouse surprisingly strong emotions of admiration and of disparagement amongst almost all of those who deal with it. Wyclif was regarded by many of the sixteenth-century polemicists, such as John Bale and John Foxe, as, to use their evocative words, *'the morning-star of the reformation'*; more recent historians have largely discounted that view, and often deny any input from Wyclif or his followers into the later sixteenth-century events – the index to George Bernard's recent *The King's Reformation* has only two references to either Wyclif or the Lollards, and those on investigation contradict the view that there was any connection with his subject. I do not want to waste time in trying to refute that view – in the old saying, there are none so deaf as those who do not want to hear. What I should like to do is to look at some aspects of Wyclif's ideas that were developed by his followers, and compare their implications with the form of reformed religion that was established in England by Elizabeth's reign. In particular I shall focus on the topic of our conference: the Bible and Theology. As will emerge, the link between those two is particularly close in the case of Wyclif.

First, however, a few basic facts. The first condemnation of Wyclif's ideas, that by pope Gregory XI in 1377, concerned his views on dominion, that is the source of legitimate authority to control material possessions and to govern human beings. Wyclif, developing the ideas of earlier scholars and notably of Richard FitzRalph, held that dominion could only rightly be exercised by one in a state of grace, free from mortal sin. He differentiated dominion from power, the latter being simple physical force over animate and inanimate objects that might be wielded by any human being. Since Wyclif maintained that an individual's state of grace, or otherwise, was perceptible only to God, it might be thought – as indeed modern critics such as Gordon Leff have argued – that this view of dominion was of theoretical concern only and would have no practical implications. Gregory XI thought otherwise, and I would suggest in this, if in nothing else, he was correct – for this theory is surely the first of many of Wyclif's ideas that puts the responsibility for a person's behaviour squarely on that individual. The force of a law, for instance, in Wyclif's view depended upon the validity of that edict



*Wycliffe New Testament. Perhaps the manuscript described in trial of Richard Hunne 1514. (Illustration taken from Christopher de Hamel *The Book: A History of the Bible* Phaidon 2001.)*

and not upon the office of the law-enactor or enforcer. Since it could not be proven that the reigning pope, for instance, was in a state of grace, the laws he promulgated could not gain their authority from his office or person but must be assessed by the individual for their status. The measure which the individual should use was, even at this stage, clear in Wyclif's writing: only the gospels and epistles could provide guidance, as conveying the teaching of Christ and the practice of the early church.

In many respects it seems to me that this first issue was the most fundamental of Wyclif's transgressions from contemporary acceptability, and explicitly or implicitly underlies most of the later ideas that were condemned. But for various reasons Wyclif in 1377 escaped formal condemnation by the English church or by his own university. The issue which provoked both came a few years later, and was his eucharistic teaching. It is clear that Wyclif had for many years been dissatisfied with contemporary explanations of the sacrament, but had not put forward publicly any alternative. His reasons for dissatisfaction seem to have been partly philosophical and partly theological – the latter because recent accounts seemed to him incompatible with the wording of the gospel institution of the sacrament and of Pauline reflections upon that. Discussion of the eucharist was part of the normal academic debate, especially in considering the fourth book of Lombard's Sentences,

but Wyclif had evidently compounded his transgression of acceptable thought on the issue by allowing his followers to discuss the matter before laymen in the vernacular. His teaching was complex, but his enemies identified his main error as his conviction that the words of consecration do not eliminate the substance of bread and wine from the elements. He did not, contrary to many modern accounts, deny the real presence, and equally he did not deny that celebration of mass by a sinful priest did not impinge on its validity for the faithful recipient even though it might harm the celebrant's soul (i.e. he did not, again contrary to some contemporary and modern critics, stray into Donatism).

Wyclif's other opinions derive more transparently from his reading of scripture. Most important, he held that the contemporary requirement for annual oral confession to a priest was illicit: the gospels provided no general instruction to this effect, but rather required only contrition to eliminate sin. True contrition could only be assessed by God and absolution could only be given by God, and consequently confession to God was alone requisite – even if human guidance or counsel could sometimes be helpful, the penitent should be able to choose the person to whom he turned, and this person might be lay as well as religious, and might even be a woman rather than a man. Likewise, the New Testament provides no authorization for any form of what Wyclif called '*private religion*', that is any life removed from the ordinary community, and hence covering monastic, eremitic and fraternal orders. Their rules added restrictions to those of the gospels and epistles, and hence in Wyclif's view could only be understood as blasphemous and burdensome additions to the teaching of Christ. Since they removed their most characteristic roles, the ideas concerning the eucharist and confession called in question the distinctiveness of the clergy, though a fully-developed view of the priesthood of all believers is more clearly visible in the writings of some of Wyclif's followers than in his own, but the logical end of his ideas is often plain enough even if not overtly stated. Where he was outspoken was in his view concerning the maintenance of the church and its priesthood. Christ, he argued, had never sought more than was materially necessary for immediate survival – and nor should his ministers. Hence the church should be disendowed and the resulting funds distributed to the needy poor; tithes should not be either a sacerdotal right or an obligatory payment by laymen – those priests performing their duty conscientiously should expect only bare necessities from those to whom they ministered. The whole construction of the contemporary church hierarchy, from the papacy down to the parish level, needed to be dismantled; the only duty of a priest was to

preach and to practise the gospel. Other minor deviations from that scriptural model, deviations such as the worship of saints, the honour of images, the practice of pilgrimage and the obligation of legal oaths, should be abandoned. In Wyclif's view it is possible to envisage circumstances in which war might appear justifiable, but once joined, no war could adhere to the just conditions. Hence war is better avoided – a lesson for our times?

The proximity of much of this creed to that later developed in the 16th century reformation following Luther hardly needs to be spelt out. But a few points are perhaps worth observing. First, in some ways Wycliffite views were more radical than those embodied in the Elizabethan Anglican church two centuries later: most obviously, the temporal powers of the church, represented by the inclusion of bishops in the House of Lords, the continuance of obligatory tithes, and the maintenance of a hierarchy of ordained ministers (albeit a hierarchy that did not extend outside the kingdom). The more radical Lollard views on the priesthood of all believers, and on the avoidance of all forms of external devotion other than preaching, the outlawing of all war and oaths, all anticipate later puritan rather than mainstream Protestantism, at least, in England. Intriguingly, there are also some strange parallels between the two periods: Wyclif, like the later Elizabethan church, had some odd traditionalisms: just as Cranmer's prayer books retained much of the wording of the medieval liturgical prayer, so Wyclif never questioned the selection of gospels and epistles for Sunday and weekday masses in the Sarum rite, arbitrary though they are in so many ways and distorting of the congregation's perception of scripture. In two regards, however, Lollardy did not get so far as the later reformers: first, in formulating an apparently simple watchword of faith as the sole means of salvation, and second in never putting forward a clear outline for a church in this world, its organization and its physical form (if any). I will return to these two points at the end.

As I have tried to emphasise, the lynchpin of the '*premature reformation*' was scripture: this was the sole legitimating authority for any theological or ecclesiological claim. There are, however, a number of ways in which that core belief might be interpreted, and here, as with later reformers, variation is found in the texts which Wyclif and his followers left. First, the medieval thinkers went further than some later theologians would in accepting the normal medieval views about the relation of the Christian to the Old Testament. They accepted the usual division between the moral, ceremonial and judicial precepts of the old law, and adhered to most of the normal restrictions on the first, the only group relevant in a Christian era. Like their opponents, there was some divergence at the edges: the OT prohibition on

images was regarded by Lollards as still applicable, the Levitical legitimization of obligatory tithes was by most not accepted. Beyond that more variation can be perceived: does *scriptura sola* imply that anything not explicitly approved in the new law should be avoided, or does it more liberally mean that anything not explicitly forbidden in the new law is acceptable? These are very different positions. As Bishop Skirlaw of Durham, questioning the Lollard Richard Wyche around 1404, asked in exasperation after the suspect's prevarications, '*Who is to be the judge to determine what is consonant with the law of God?*', to which somewhat evasively Wyche replied '*Surely the law of God, which will judge us in the last day as Christ said.*'

Rather than looking, however, at divergences and variations between differing Lollards and their texts, I would like to look at the efforts which all of them made to spread knowledge of the foundation text, and to increase understanding of it. These efforts are hard for us to assess and even harder not to underestimate: the invention of printing in almost every respect altered the scene in such drastic ways, but this was some hundred years too late for Wyclif and his followers. We need to remember not only that every book, every text, every flysheet, had to be copied by hand, but also that this meant that no two copies of any text, however short, would be identical. Not only does every copying produce individual spellings and individual errors, but also the layout of two copies of the same text will almost never be the same. Even if two scribes, or the same scribe at two different times, aimed to set out a text in the same fashion, achievement of this aim, especially for a prose text, was virtually impossible – size of script will unconsciously vary to such an extent that what appears on one page in one copy will appear overleaf in another. So, indexing in the pre-print era is extremely difficult: if it is to be used beyond the single copy for which the index is made, it must use arbitrary devices other than the page and these must be included in the writing of every copy of the text. Bible chapters had been introduced and accepted long before Wyclif, but numbered verses were not then a part of the text. Most references to the bible simply used book name and chapter number, though marginal arbitrary division of a chapter into six sections could be used when greater precision was required – they are found in lectionaries that accompany many Wycliffite New Testaments.

As is common knowledge, the first complete English Bible translation was produced by the Wycliffites at the end of the 14th century. Whether Wyclif himself was directly involved in the translation seems to me less important than the perception which can be traced as early as Henry Knighton in 1395 that Wyclif was in some sense responsible for the translation as its inspiration.

Certainly from then on, and especially after Archbishop Arundel's *Constitutions* of 1407, ownership of vernacular scriptures, hearing them, favouring them or fostering those who read them, was regarded as a mark of adherence to Lollardy. It is clear that the production of that translation was the achievement of a large number of scholars and must have required the input of a considerable amount of money. For its details we have a remarkable account in the final chapter of a *General Prologue* which, it seems, was written at the end of the process. From this account four stages can be discerned. Firstly the workers collected together numerous copies of the Latin Vulgate, compared them and attempted to deduce from their variants a 'correct' text. Secondly they compared this text with the texts that can be found or deduced from early and more recent biblical commentators – as they ingeniously perceived, the exegesis of Augustine or Jerome, for instance, may reveal which of two biblical readings they had, and this, even if not necessarily 'original' is at least closer to biblical time than a reading not found till the 13th century, and hence is more likely to be authentic. Thirdly, they consulted written authorities about unusual words or difficult passages and fourthly, they translated into English. In that fourth stage, however, two parts are clearly distinguished: first a very literal rendering was made, following as closely as possible the word order of the Latin and using much Latinate-derived vocabulary – this version was hardly intelligible without the Latin alongside, but it got into circulation and some copies of it survive. The second, and more important, work was to revise this literal version into more idiomatic English: in particular English word order and idiom were substituted – though, as the account explains, a large number of local decisions had to be made, decisions that do affect meaning. If a finite verb is substituted for a Latin participle, the translator must decide the relation of that verb to the main verb, a relation that is not overtly expressed in the Latin. Was this extremely laborious fourfold process a figment of the writer's imagination, wishful thinking about an ideal world? From the surviving evidence, this seems unlikely: all parts of the process have left at least occasional traces in copies of the translation or in other Wycliffite documents. Whether all four stages were systematic, or covered the entire bible is much more difficult to affirm and, given the scope of the enterprise, can hardly be expected. Where was this large-scale scholarly enterprise undertaken? The first three stages, it seems to me, could only be accomplished in one place, Oxford, where the necessary scholars could have been assembled, and where the resources of books equally were at hand (even if not in the convenient libraries we know today). A monastic establishment such as Bury St Edmunds or St Albans could have provided both: what they did not have

was the motivation, and a Wycliffite endeavour is unthinkable in such a house of 'private religion'. The fourth stage, of literal translation and of the modification of that translation, could have been done with few library resources, but the consistency of translational method that is traceable throughout the so-called Early and Late versions suggests a continuity of scholarship throughout the entire enterprise.

Production of the translation is, however, only the first move. The next must be its copying and dissemination. Here the story becomes even more obscure. About 250 manuscripts of the whole or part of the Wycliffite translations survive; given that these have survived both the natural selection of time that affects all artefacts produced some 600 years ago, and also the human processes of destruction that marked the oppression of Lollardy, its followers and its books, this suggests that a considerable number of copies must have been lost; even so, the number far exceeds the 65-odd of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, a work not affected by the second process of destruction. More indicative than mere numbers is the professionalism of the layout of almost all these 250 copies. Despite variation in size, usually explicable by the extent of the text that the individual volume was to contain, there is a consistency of layout and hand that is very striking. The scripts are regularly rather old-fashioned bookhands, rather than the more current and informal secretary scripts of the 15th century. Except in copies of a single book or rarely of the four gospels, the layout is in two columns, with running heads to show the book, chapters separated by a decorated initial and these more elaborate at the start of a new book, usually with the Jerome prefaces before each book. As I have mentioned, many New Testaments are accompanied by a lectionary, according to the Sarum rite, and sometimes also by a calendar of the major feasts and saints' days. How many scribes were involved even in the surviving 250 copies is not clear: to assess that a photographic inventory would be needed, and this has not yet been assembled. What can be said is that the vast majority of the copies show a form of early 15th century English that reflects the usage of London and the area immediately north of the capital, a choice that was lucky in that it differs little from that which emerged in the following 150 years as the standard written language. Everything points to a 'production line' in London: there the requisite number of professional scribes could have been found. But, of course, this does not answer all questions. Who paid those professional scribes? Were they aware of the origins of the material they were copying? Who ensured that the manuscripts produced adhered to the standard layout and dialect?

The possibility of answering those questions depends upon the answer to

one other, one that is easier to state than to resolve. When was the translation, however and by whoever it was produced, first regarded as unacceptable and hence dangerous to be associated with, let alone to produce? The easy answer is 1407: in that year the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, in his *Constitutions* produced a wide-ranging set of measures to deal with what he perceived to be the grave dangers of Wycliffism. Amongst the provisions was one that forbade new translation of scripture into the vernacular, and also forbade the ownership of any English scripture translated in the time of Wyclif or later unless both the owner and the translation had been formally approved by the diocesan bishop. But it seems that this is the final, decisive stage in a process that had begun earlier. As I mentioned, Henry Knighton, a member of the Leicester house of Augustinian canons, in his chronicle completed in 1395 amongst Wyclif's outrages mentioned particularly his responsibility for the production of the gospels in English, by which the text which had been the preserve of clerics was now open to the laity, and even to women who knew how to read. But Knighton was in a position to be particularly knowledgeable about, and sensitive to, matters involving Wyclif: a member of his house, and from 1394 his abbot, was Philip Repingdon, one of Wyclif's closest Oxford disciples who recanted his views in the autumn of 1382 under the pressure of the condemnations of the Blackfriars Council. In 1401 it was apparently still possible to debate the issue of biblical translation in Oxford without incurring immediate condemnation as a Wycliffite: Richard Ullerston defended translation that year, and his opponent, William Butler, though notably less open minded, did not produce that charge against him. But by 1407 the sides had hardened in their views. Throughout the 15th century, official enquiries into Lollard suspects regularly mention as corroborative if not complete evidence of unorthodoxy not only the ownership of vernacular scriptures, but the hearing of such scriptures either read or recited from memory, assistance with funding the purchase or making of vernacular bibles and the fostering of those preaching it. Licenses for the ownership of them are very rare, but signs of the dangers of ownership can be found: a scribe's date of completion as 1408 altered to 1308, safely before Wyclif's time, the extreme rarity of an individual owner's name in such a book, stories of the hiding of copies – even if only the smaller examples – in storehouses or under the floorboards.

Was the translation in itself unorthodox, that is, in its own renderings, rather than following the external decision of Arundel and his like? The simple answer is No. And here we have an interesting contrast to Tyndale. Whereas Tyndale's usage, for instance using *elder* or *senior* where Thomas

More thought he should have used *priest*, *congregation* for More's *church*, *repent* for More's *do penance*, reveals the translator's dislike of pre-Lutheran ideas about the church and its governance, More would have been unable to find such simple 'litmus-tests' in the Wycliffite Bible. In part, of course, this was the result of the earlier translation's use of the Latin Vulgate as the basis for translation in both testaments, the basis which More would have expected. But the absence of such sectarian translations points more generally to the dispassionate way in which the Wycliffite scholars attempted to render the text. More himself asserted that he had seen an orthodox translation of the whole of scripture other than the Wycliffite version that had been, and remained in the 1520s and 1530s condemned, but the identity of such a complete rendering has defeated modern scholarly enquiry. It seems much more likely that what More had seen was a Wycliffite translation, and that he did not recognize it as such. How could he? Unless the copy had been one of the tiny handful that have a very small number of marginal glosses of a controversial kind, or again included, as only five surviving copies did, the complete General Prologue, More would have found extreme difficulty in locating anything that would alert him to the translation's origins. And doubtless he would have been fooled by the handsome appearance of the enormous manuscript – a copy like Fairfax 2 or Bodley 277 is hardly likely to emanate from a persecuted, outlawed sect.

If the Wycliffite translation then was so innocuous, why was it banned? Even if an immediate but superficial answer can be given by invoking Archbishop Arundel's hypersensitivity to anything even remotely associated with Wyclif, his legislation would not have had such a profound and continuing impact on the English church unless it had largely found sympathy amongst the entire clerical hierarchy. Certainly, events played decisively into Arundel's hands. The predictions he had made of the implications of Wyclif's views for the secular ruler and civil society found their apparent fulfilment in the Oldcastle rising of January 1414, just as his predecessor, William Courtenay, and other ecclesiastical observers had with less justice attempted to associate Wyclif himself with the causes of the Peasants Revolt of 1381. With consummate political skill the church had managed from then on to involve the secular authorities increasingly in the suppression of Lollardy. That active political acumen may also be traceable in the recognition by the clerical hierarchy that the whole governance of the realm, and thus of the church, could be shifted if Latin were no longer the undisputed medium of all academic and legal utterance. The argument about language was fundamentally an argument about power, and who should wield it. And the Bible translation

was by no means the only Lollard writing in the vernacular: further collaborative enterprises were the vast series of 294 sermons for all possible liturgical occasions, the commentaries on the gospels known as the *Glossed Gospels* surviving in two forms of differing lengths, the expansions of Rolle's *English commentary on the Psalter*. All of these survive in multiple copies, many of them professional productions like the Bible manuscripts, most of them large lectern books. Other texts may not be so prolifically preserved and in smaller format, but they are numerous and often extremely outspoken and argued in a sophisticated fashion. Manuscripts of them are usually well produced, and their texts often have the full panoply of academic presentation with authorities, whether biblical, patristic or canon law, fully referenced in the margins. Anyone who reads through the 'dossier' of Lollard writing, even in the attenuated form which contemporary persecution has left for our inspection, will, I think, understand Arundel's concern – even if the outcome of that concern is deplored. Lollardy offered a serious challenge.

Why then did it fail? Why was its attempted reformation premature? These are questions that do not, it seems to me, admit of a single, or simple answer. Wyclif, so far as we can discern his character from his own writings and from the comments of contemporaries, was not the leader for a popular movement. His own texts are uncompromisingly academic and, though he was reputed to have been a charismatic lecturer, this quality does not come through the written word. He was also unlucky: in the crucial years of his life, between 1378 and his death in 1384, the minority government for Richard II was challenged by a popular rising for which he may have had some sympathy but for which he certainly had no personal responsibility. Equally the outbreak of the papal schism in 1378 left the national ecclesiastical hierarchy particularly anxious to maintain its status and equilibrium. The overthrow of Richard II in 1399 brought to the throne a man, Henry IV, who owed that throne to a clique of supporters, one of whom was Thomas Arundel – and Arundel, for many years Henry's chancellor as well as archbishop, certainly knew how to manipulate the continuing fragility of Henry's hold on power in order to build up ecclesiastical control. And, just as the Oldcastle revolt concentrated the civil authorities' mind on the dangers of Lollardy, so the Council of Constance in 1415 reinforced the ecclesiastical opposition to it through the condemnation of 267 conclusions from Wyclif's works and the burning of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague, both declaredly as followers of the English heresiarch. But these political events, whether in church or state, were not, I think, the only causes for the failure of Wycliffite reform. One major factor was the problem in a pre-printing era of the means of propagation. Certainly

the layout of many of the manuscripts I have been describing suggests that the early Lollard movement could draw on substantial funds. Equally, evidence from texts and from trials indicates that it was grasped that the laity must be educated in order to read and to understand those texts and that, at least in a number of areas, efforts towards these ends were widespread and of some persistence. But, as some Lollard preachers overtly recognized, handwritten books are slow to produce and not cheap but, since they can remain when the preacher moves on under persecution, they are crucial not only to propagation of the message but also to its maintenance once taught. Luther was lucky in having taught after the Gutenberg printing revolution, and also not far from its area of origin.

Another possible reason for Lollardy's failure brings us back to issues more obviously central. The ideas which Wyclif taught and which Lollardy developed were not all easy. Certainly, the disparagement of certain ecclesiological practices and notions such as indulgences, the wealth of the clergy and their temporal power, the claims of 'private religion' offer arguments of obvious popular appeal. But the religion that was offered in place of contemporary orthodoxy was not a comfortable one. In particular it offered no certainties in its stress on absolution from God alone, its complex understanding of the Eucharist, its teaching of an austere personal morality and of the need for the individual to take responsibility for himself or herself. The argument that the negligent priest will be held responsible for all those who have gone astray because of the deficiencies of his teaching, an argument put polemically by Grosseteste long before Wyclif, is capped in one Lollard text by the question of whether this absolves the sinner in such circumstances? No, comes the answer, because after all every Christian has reason. Every individual, in other words, must acknowledge complete responsibility for himself – not an easy solution. This connects, I would suggest, with another aspect of Lollardy, an aspect which I have alluded to before. This is the almost complete absence of any delineation of the nature or form of the institutional church that should take the place of the existing church in this world. The Lollard 'priest' has lost most of his sacerdotal powers, of confecting the body of Christ in the Eucharist, of administering obligatory confession and absolution; even his preaching duties, whilst emphasised, are a function shared with all Christians. Disparagement of the physical building of the church is common: there is little benefit in a pretty church and a negligent curate; Lucifer fell in heaven and Adam in paradise, so no place can protect against sin; at best church building is useful to keep out the rain. Yet the obvious explanation of the splendid Lollard Bibles that I have described, with all

their appurtenances, is that they were intended as lectern books; the same is true of many copies of the sermons and gospel and psalter commentaries. So it seems that something beyond house churches was envisaged. But its positive nature is never described. To us this seems an obvious and serious need, and its absence leaves a gap that we find incomprehensible. But then we are used to a pluralist world: a world of Roman Catholicism, of Anglicanism, of Presbyterianism, of Quakerism and so forth, each with a degree of autonomy and each with its own structure, however varied in the closeness with which its detail is prescribed. An effort of imagination is needed to understand a world where the Christian structure, at least in the experience of the vast majority of its adherents within the then-known world, was single, monolithic, unquestionable. Certainly, attempts to modify aspects of that single church were constant and not always unsuccessful – but they were attempts for reform within the existing structure, they did not set up a new church separate from that existing structure. That move, to a church over against the church, was one which, I would suggest, neither Wyclif nor his followers envisaged. They conceived of their plan in terms of reform, not of revolution – and it is in that sense, surely, that their reformation was ‘premature’.

Since this was a paper delivered orally, there are no footnote references. Further information on some of the issues covered in it may be found in the following:

Life of Wyclif in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004 and on line).
 J.Forshall and F.Madden (ed), *The Holy Bible ... made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his Followers* (4 vols. Oxford, 1850, reprinted New York, 1982). The two versions of the Wycliffite Bible, including the General Prologue
 G.Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (2 vols., Manchester, 1967).
 M.Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (3rd edn., Oxford, 2002).
 C.de Hamel, *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London and New York, 2001) – chapter 7 has some excellent plates of the Wycliffite Bible manuscripts.
 A.Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London, 1985).
 A.Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988).

Prof. Anne Hudson is an honorary fellow of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford and honorary director of the Early English Text Society.

London Walk, Lectures and Concert Saturday, 11 March 2006

Not So ‘Wicked’ Mammon

Report by Eunice Burton

On a cold, blustery March day about 25 members and friends of the Tyndale Society, from Geneva, Scotland, East Anglia, the West Country and Greater London, assembled at St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe for a Tudor London Walk, Lectures and Concert. The 13th century church had been rebuilt by Wren after the Great Fire; this was destroyed, apart from the walls and tower, in World War II, but attractively reconstructed by Marshall Sisson, 1959-61, to give a light, wide church, whose south and north aisles have been enclosed to provide a chapel and reception rooms - the gallery contains a memorial to John Dowland whose music we heard later.

Our walk took us first to St Paul’s churchyard, and Brian Buxton, the walk leader, asked us to ignore Wren’s domed Cathedral and imagine the old St Paul’s instead. The octagonal site of St Paul’s Cross is marked out in the stone pavement, and it was here that many sermons were preached by those holding the Reformed Faith, including Sir John Shaa, uncle of Thomas Poyntz, in 1483 and John Bradford (Marian martyr), and where William Tyndale’s English New Testaments were burned by order of Bishop Tunstall in October 1526.

The bells of St Lawrence Jewry welcomed us to the impressive Guildhall Yard with Art Gallery and Reference Library: at the latter we saw the 16th century registers recording the burial of Thomas Poyntz at St Dunstan-in-the-West on 5 May 1562 and the churchwardens’ accounts showing the fee paid, as well as other interesting prints of old City churches and buildings. From there we braved the cold to visit St Olave’s Court, an area related to the Mercers’ Company and the old Hospital of St Thomas of Acre, where Thomas Poyntz’ uncle, Sir John Shaa, had been buried in the hospital chapel. Thomas Poyntz, a member of the Grocers’ Company, had rented a house in nearby Ironmonger Lane in 1517, prior to his departure to Antwerp in 1526. Then we walked down Ironmonger Lane to its junction with Cheapside where the house on the corner displays a plaque and small sculpture of Thomas Becket, son of a mercer. Opposite is the church of St Mary-le-Bow where from the early 14th century stands were erected to enable people to watch the State Processions travelling through Cheapside. Our leader wondered if Thomas Poyntz had seen his sister-in-law, Anne, seated in the third carriage of Mary Tudor’s Accession Procession. A brisk walk took us back to St Paul’s and then to St Andrew-by-the-Ward-

robe, where a welcome lunch of hot soup, sandwiches and fruit awaited us, thanks to Mary Clow, Rochelle Givoni and their team.

Brian Buxton delivered the first afternoon lecture on *'A Letter and a Speculation: Thomas Poyntz in London: Holywell Priory & St. Dunstons in the West'*, a sequel to the morning walk. Following his arrest in Antwerp for assisting Tyndale, Thomas Poyntz returned to England in 1536, but where he lived or how he supported himself are unknown, but he was always impoverished. However, in 1539 he wrote to Thomas Cromwell requesting the grant of a house from redundant monastic properties so that his wife Anna and four young children, still in Antwerp, could join him in London: he suggested Holywell Priory in Shoreditch (?why), but no material gift accompanied his request

- instead he appealed on the grounds of recognition of the hardships he had suffered by befriending Tyndale. Sadly there was no positive response.

Thomas Poyntz possibly resided at the 'King's Head Tavern', owned by Mr Spong, who supplied communion wine to St Dunstan-in-the-West and was subsequently buried there. This may have been the link with Poyntz' own burial at St Dunstan's on 5 May 1562.

Brian Buxton described how some of the citizens sympathetic to the reformers met in the Fleet Street area, especially Thomas Elsing, baker and church warden at St Dunstan-in-the-West, and Henry Ball, physician and collaborator with Foxe. Foxe referred to information regarding Tyndale's arrest obtained from his host, Thomas Poyntz, but the exact means is unknown. Thomas Elsing showed hospitality to John Bradford and it was from his house that Bradford was arrested prior to his martyrdom by burning under Queen Mary so there were parallel situations between Thomas Poyntz and Thomas Elsing regarding hospitality to Tyndale and Bradford, given at great danger and discomfort to themselves and their families - but



fortunately neither died a martyr. Brian Buxton concluded by reading a selection of verses from Hebrews 13 in Tyndale's 1534 version, where the opening seemed so appropriate *'.....Be not forgetful to lodge strangers. For thereby have divers received angels into their houses unawares. Remember them that are in bonds.....'*

The second lecture was given by Andrew Hope on 'New Research into Humphrey Monmouth'. Humphrey Monmouth was one of a dozen English merchants who supported William Tyndale's translation work and the distribution of his English New Testament. A report of this paper appears elsewhere in this issue.

After tea, we enjoyed another memorable a capella concert by the English Chamber choir: their repertoire included old favourites from Antwerp and Oxford conferences, especially Thomas Tallis's *If ye love me*, which can be regarded as the Society's signature tune! We heard again the *Gloria* by Antonius Divitis and *Credo* by Mattheus Pipelare, both from Antwerp and contemporaries of Tyndale, and Psalm 33 to Jan Sweelinck's music. All people that on earth do dwell (Psalm 100) is universally acclaimed and we enjoyed a version from Geneva by Louis Bourgeois with John Dowland's setting being substituted in verses 2 and 4 - particularly appropriate as his memorial is in the Church. Cantatas by Bach (*Komm, Jesu, komm*) and Brahms (*Warum ist das Licht gegeben*) completed the programme, which proved a fitting climax to a day full of interest and enjoyment.

A Close Knit Community: A Walk through Early Tudor London

Taken from a leaflet compiled by Brian Buxton
for the Tyndale Society Study Day on 25 February 2006.

Early Tudor London probably had a population of no more than about 50,000, even including those who lived outside the city walls. However, it was a busy and noisy place, smelly too, and subject to recurrent outbreaks of plague. Streets were still lined with buildings of timber and thatch. Every few yards a parish church maintained the round of pre-Reformation worship and offered masses for the souls of those wealthy enough to have left bequests

for this purpose, as also did the numerous Religious Houses and, above all, Old St Paul's, whose spire dominated the city skyline. Churches often served as places for formal and informal meetings, alongside a multitude of taverns and the Livery Halls, homes of the companies who regulated trade in the city. There was no commuting. Londoners lived and worked in close contact and knew each other well. *'London was small enough for news to travel fast and for causes to be swiftly followed'* (Susan Brigden).

The Great Fire, Victorian road improvements, and the Blitz have swept away most of the sites known to those of Tyndale's time. However, with some imagination it is still possible to catch a little of old London. A surprising number of streets have the same line and width as they did five hundred years ago. Many street names survive and are a reminder in their different ways of a lost world. A good number of London's post Great Fire buildings are on the same site as those of earlier times. Manuscripts in the Guildhall Library survive as a first hand link with the real people of 16th century London.

St Paul's Cross was an octagonal pulpit where Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall preached against Tyndale's New Testament in 1526 and some copies were burnt.

The Guildhall has probably been the centre of city administration since the 12th century. Here Archbishop Cranmer was put on trial.

Ironmonger Lane was the home of Thomas Poyntz from 1517-26 renting from the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre, built to commemorate Thomas Becket, born here in 1118. The Mercers' Company have been here since the beginning of the Hospital and, after the dissolution, it acquired the entire site which it still holds.

Honey Lane was the site of All Hallows Church, known as a centre of the trade in forbidden religious books.

Cheapside was a busy heart of the city – a place known for its markets and somewhere to celebrate special days when the conduits flowed with wine and the apprentices ran wild.

East from the Millennium Bridge can be seen on the north bank the towers of Canon Street Station which stands on the site of the **Steelyard**, home of the Hanseatic merchants. On the south bank is the tower of **Southwark Cathedral**, one of the few buildings surviving from medieval London. Here some suspected of heresy in Queen Mary's reign were interrogated by Bishop Stephen Gardiner.

London Study Day **Not So 'Wicked' Mammon** at
St Andrew-by-the-Wardrobe, London EC4.

Recital by the English Chamber Choir conducted by Guy Protheroe

Programme

Antonius Divitis • Gloria from Missa Gaude Barbara

Mattheus Pipelare • Credo de Sancto Johanne Evangelista

Thomas Tallis • If ye love me

Louis Bourgeois/John Dowland • All people that on earth do dwell

Johannes Brahms • Warum ist das Licht gegeben

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck • Psalm 33

Johann Sebastian Bach • Komm, Jesu, komm

Report by Ann Manly

March 2006

The afternoon's recital combined music from previous programmes given by the English Chamber Choir at Tyndale conferences in Antwerp and Oxford. It provided an opportunity for those not present on those previous occasions to hear some otherwise unfamiliar but wonderful music, and for those who were, there were variations on a theme, in as much as the motets by Brahms and Bach performed this afternoon are companions to those sung in Oxford last September.

One of the features of the Antwerp programme was the music of Tyndale's time - not necessarily using his words, but illustrating the kind of musical experience he would have encountered in his own worship. This led us to research the numerous composers who flourished in the Courts and Chapels of France, Burgundy and the Low Countries, whose compositions are now being re-discovered and re-appraised. Composers from Northern Europe also enjoyed a considerable vogue at the Papal Courts of Leo X and Clement VII (both members of the Medici family) in Rome, and consequently much of their music has been preserved in Italian sources. Both Antonius Divitis (c.1470-c.1530) and Mattheus Pipelare (c.1450-c.1515) worked in and around the Antwerp area and it is highly probable that Tyndale would have been familiar with their music, particularly settings of the mass. Divitis was born in Louvain and also worked in Bruges and Mechelen. He was ordained priest in 1501 and entered the service of Philippe le Beau, Archduke of Austria, Duke of Burgundy and King of Castile. Consequently he spent some

years visiting Spain and after a period in the service of François 1er of France it would appear that he moved to Italy, spending time at the Papal Court in Rome. Contemporary manuscript sources suggest that he died around 1530. His extant works include 3 Masses, including the *Missa Gaude Barbara*, from which we are performing the *Gloria*. Pipelare also came from Louvain and after working in Antwerp became choir director of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at S'Hertogenbosch. This *Credo* is so called because it incorporates in the tenor line the plainsong antiphon *Occurrit beato Johanni* which, in addition to describing the return from exile of St John the Baptist, also incorporates the words of another Mass movement, the *Benedictus*: “When the blessed John returned from exile, there came running to meet him all the people, men and women alike, crying and saying : Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord”.

Shortly before going to Antwerp, the Choir was asked if it could provide a short recording for use by the local radio station there. The piece it chose to record was *If ye love me* by Thomas Tallis (1505-1585). It received several airings there, not only on the radio but also in the concert in the Lessius Hoge-school and in the Evensong in Antwerp Cathedral, and was repeated in Oxford by popular request. So here it is again today. Tallis's career spanned the final years of the Latin Sarum rite and the early years of the Anglican prayer-book. *If ye love me* is an exquisite little gem which sets Tyndale's own words.

For the Oxford conference concert, we chose to explore Tyndale's legacy -the rich corpus of metrical settings from Luther, from Geneva, and here in Britain -by means of which the Word was spread, in the vernacular, to communities who previously would not have possessed the education to read or learn for themselves. Along with these verses comes a huge repertoire of melodies, some of which became so familiar that just hearing the tune would immediately recall to mind the words which went with it.

One of the most popular English settings of this kind is the hymn *All people that on earth do dwell*, popularly known as the *Old Hundredth*, chiefly familiar to contemporary congregations from its inclusion in *The English Hymnal* by Ralph Vaughan Williams, who also wrote the popular ceremonial setting with trumpets etc. William Kethe was a Scottish clergyman who spent a great deal of time in exile for his faith. He lived in both Frankfurt and Geneva and helped translate the *Geneva Bible* in 1560. Two dozen of his hymns appeared in the *Geneva Psalter of 1561* and the *Old Hundredth* was also included here in England in Daye's Psalter in the same year. He returned to England and served as vicar at Childe Okeford, Dorset (1561-1593), and as a military chaplain under the Earl of Warwick at Le Havre. (Co-incidentally, today

Childe Okeford is the home of Sir John Tavener.) Louis Bourgeois followed John Calvin to Geneva in 1541 where he became a cantor at the Cathedral of St. Pierre, and edited the *Geneva Psalter*, in which his melody for the *Old Hundredth* appears. At one point, he was jailed for modifying some well-known tunes. Fortunately, composers do not face such strict penalties today. Bourgeois reportedly left Geneva in 1557.

The *Old Hundredth* then appeared in Thomas Ravenscroft's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621) in a setting by John Dowland, with the tune in the tenor part. In our performance the tune is heard in the original Genevan form in verses 1,3 and 5, with the Dowland version being sung to verses 2 and 4. Dowland lived here in the Parish of St Andrew's and a memorial to him can be seen in the upper gallery of the Church.

Both the words and music of many of these metrical psalms and hymns also provided inspiration to composers to create more elaborate versions based on the original melodies. Indeed, Martin Luther's own work is probably known as much outside his native Germany today for its incorporation into the Church Cantatas of Bach as it is for the corpus of Mass settings and chorales which he collected. During the 19th century there was a major revival of interest in the music of J.S. Bach, usually illustrated by Mendelssohn's revival of the St Matthew Passion, although this was but one instance of the trend. However, German and Austrian composers from Bach's time onwards had generally tended to compose music for the church in a more archaic, contrapuntal manner than that which they wrote for the concert hall, opera house, or for their aristocratic patrons. (The fugal sections of Haydn's and Mozart's Masses are a case in point.) Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) wrote many beautiful sacred works including motets and also organ chorale preludes which also sound as if they could have been written by Bach. Only a few instances of richly chromatic harmony belie their 19th-century provenance. For *Warum ist das Licht gegeben* Brahms carefully compiled his own text from the Bible, at one point commenting in jest to a friend that ‘my bible knowledge should perhaps be praised!’ He begins with verses from Job, ‘Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery ... Which long for death but it cometh not’. Then we have a verse from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, ‘Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to the Lord’. This is followed by words from the Epistle of St James: ‘Behold we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job ...’ The motet concludes with Luther's Chorale ‘Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin’. (*In joy and peace I go to my God.*)

The Flemish composer Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck was one of the foremost

keyboard virtuosos of the period spanning the Renaissance and Baroque eras. He also composed extensively for voices and wrote many settings of Psalms in French from the Geneva Bible translations, ranging in scale from two to eight voices. This eight-part setting of the first two verses of Psalm 33 was published in Amsterdam in 1613 and is a fine example of his exuberant style and rhythmic vitality. The Book of Common Prayer translation of the verses is: *‘Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous: for it becometh well the just to be thankful. Praise the Lord with harp: sing praises unto him with the lute and instruments of ten strings’*. This piece was suggested to us by Prof. Francis Higman for the Oxford conference, and we transcribed it into modern notation for that occasion.

In addition to the huge series of cantatas mentioned above, Bach also wrote some half-a-dozen motets, four of which are scored for double choir. Today we are performing *Komm, Jesu, komm*, which was written for a funeral, and, like the Brahms motet, seeks peace in the soul united with God. The words are by Paul Thymich (1656-1694). The text was originally written in 1684 for the funeral of Jacob Thomasius, rector of the Thomasschule in Leipzig, and set to music by one of Bach’s predecessors in Leipzig, Johann Schelle. The motet opens with an invocation to Jesus, *‘Come, Jesu, come’*. The main movement, first in common time, then in 6/8, expresses a world of hope, *‘You are the Way, the Truth, the Life’*. The motet ends, not with a pre-existing chorale, but with a chorale-style movement in four-part harmony entitled *Aria*, to a tune probably by Bach himself.

New Research into Humphrey Monmouth

A report on a paper by Andrew Hope

Andrew Hope’s paper at the London Study Day Meeting 25 February 2006 was delivered without notes. The following is a summary of some of his recent research on Tyndale’s patron, Humphrey Monmouth

Humphrey Monmouth was one of about a dozen or so well-to-do merchants instrumental in providing material aid and support to Tyndale in his translation, printing and distribution of the *New Testament* in English.

As his name suggests, Monmouth came from a family which originated in the West Midlands, though probably most of his relatives in the area in

the 16th century were living in Worcestershire rather than Monmouthshire. Monmouth himself was based in the Hertfordshire village of Buntingford, whilst also having a house in London. His first wife - and the woman to whom he was probably married when Tyndale met him - was Joan Denham. They had two children, Grace and Elizabeth. On Joan’s death, Monmouth remarried a woman named Margaret, who outlived him.

Monmouth first met Tyndale in 1523 when the latter came to London to seek the patronage of Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London. Tyndale preached a series of sermons in St Dunstan-in-the-West and it was there that Monmouth heard him. Monmouth’s London base was in Barking to the east of the city so the question arises, what was Monmouth doing at St Dunstan-in-the-West? One of the possibilities is Tyndale’s connection with the Poyntz family.

Tyndale had arrived in London from Gloucestershire where he had been the tutor to the children of Sir John Walsh and his wife, Anne. Anne was a Poyntz, a member of the Gloucestershire Poyntz family. St Dunstan-in-the-West was a church frequented by the Essex branch of the Poyntz family. The two branches parted company in the early 14th century, but they were clearly very much aware of each other since they each recorded this descent when they were asked in *Herald’s Visitations* to give details of their families. Thus the possibility arises (and it is no more than a possibility) that the meeting between Monmouth and Tyndale was not entirely as accidental as it appears in the account in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments*. However, why should the Poyntz family, or indeed anyone, set up a meeting between Monmouth and Tyndale? And even if it was accidental what was it that attracted Monmouth to Tyndale?

Monmouth’s own religious proclivities and activities are in some ways confusing. The most evident feature is that Monmouth was interested in promoting Erasmian scholarship. He provided scholarships for several Cambridge scholars, among them Dr John Watson, a good friend and correspondent of Erasmus. In the letters between Watson and Erasmus, Watson expresses some perplexity in his attempts to master both the theology of John Duns Scotus, the 13th century Scottish Franciscan theologian, and the Biblical humanism of Erasmus. On another occasion Watson provided Erasmus with an interesting description of a pilgrimage which Watson undertook to Jerusalem in 1515-16.

In addition to exhibitions for Cambridge scholars, Monmouth provided financial support for the thriving nunnery of Minoresses near Denny in Cambridgeshire. It was ruled over by a remarkable woman, Dame Elizabeth

Throckmorton. She was also interested in Erasmus and his scholarship, and she and her nuns exchanged letters with him.

Monmouth himself is known to have gone on at least one pilgrimage. There is a record of him stopping off in Rome on his way to Jerusalem.

These kinds of activities, although they show some interest in Erasmian thought, seem to have a conservative tinge to them.

However there is another side to Monmouth. One of the stories which circulated about Monmouth in Elizabeth's reign was one, the truth of which is difficult to assess. The story is found in a sermon of Hugh Latimer, although it is only in the printed edition - printed after Latimer's death - that a marginal note specifies that the story is about Humphrey Monmouth. The marginal note was probably written by Augustine Bernhere, who had served as Latimer's secretary. Latimer says that he heard the story from George Stafford, a Cambridge scholar of great influence before his premature death of the plague in 1529.

The story is set when Dean Colet was tried for heresy, so that makes it around 1512. It also means that what we are really talking about (although it is not mentioned) is Lollardy. The hero financially helps a poor man, giving him food and so on, but when the poor man finds out that his benefactor is what Stafford calls a 'scripture man', and therefore a heretic, he starts to shun the merchant and will have nothing to do with him. The story ends happily when the hero, through his continued charity, and despite the provocations of the poor man, wins him round to his view of things. It is a very moralistic tale with possibly some kind of basis in reality. There undoubtedly was a small but identifiable, group of very well-to-do London Lollards about whom little is known. Was Monmouth part of such a group, and therefore a Lollard and committed to a vernacular scripture even before the Reformation? The evidence of Bernhere's note is stronger than it might appear since Monmouth's will makes it clear that Monmouth and Latimer were acquainted.

The other fragment of evidence here is that we know that Monmouth owned a copy of the Lollards' tract on the *Pater Noster*, so that Monmouth was certainly aware of Lollard ideas.

Thus Humphrey Monmouth was in many ways an ideal patron for William Tyndale. He supported scholars, he was interested in Erasmus and in Erasmian scholarship and in the use of Greek in the proper understanding of the New Testament. Furthermore he was very possibly sympathetic to, or even a member of, those groups who wanted to see a vernacular Bible, and who wanted a reconstruction of English religion on the basis of a vernacular Bible.

Monmouth invited Tyndale into his house, and Tyndale stayed with him

for about nine months during 1523. It was during this period that Tyndale made his famous visit to Cuthbert Tunstall. Some biographies express doubt about whether they actually met, but it is clear that they did. Tunstall of course turned down Tyndale's proposal. Tyndale, not knowing what to do, continued living at Monmouth's for a few months. He seemed to have filled in his time by making a translation of the most widely distributed work of Erasmus, the *Enchiridion*, the handbook of a Christian Knight. (This English translation is very possibly the one published by the Early English Text Society and Oxford University Press.) Monmouth became known as a person who had a good English translation of the *Enchiridion*. The abbess of Denney, Elizabeth Throckmorton, sent to Monmouth for a copy as did a member of the Franciscan Observants at Greenwich.

A member of the Greenwich Franciscan Observants at this time was William Roye, so it is possible that it was Tyndale's *Enchiridion* which first brought Roye and Tyndale together. Roye fled the house in 1524 following a dispute about Wolsey's visitation rights over the Order. Nor was this the only link between the Greenwich Franciscan Observants and Tyndale. Four years later John West, a Franciscan charged by Wolsey with apprehending those producing heretical books in Antwerp, visited the house only to find himself locked in by the friars in an attempt to sabotage his mission. The Franciscan Observants at Greenwich and elsewhere became, of course, a centre of the opposition to Henry VIII's proposal to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. In this they saw eye to eye with Tyndale. There are no easy assumptions to be made about 'sides' in the 1520s.

Eventually Tyndale left for Hamburg, and he remained in Germany until sometime after the publication of Worms edition of the New Testament. Monmouth continued to support him, sending him money, and arranging for other merchants to forward him money via the Steelyard, the London house of the German merchants. In 1528, these rather cosy arrangements by the English merchants all began to unravel. At the end of 1527 Thomas Bilney was arrested, something which triggered a chain of arrests. Throughout the first months of 1528 many heretics were arrested culminating in May with the arrest of Monmouth himself, undoubtedly at the instigation of Sir Thomas More. Monmouth was interrogated and asked a series of questions about his beliefs, from which it is clear the authorities suspected him of Lutheran views.

Monmouth submitted a petition for his release to Wolsey. It represents a canny appeal to Wolsey's interests. It is important not to assume that there was a kind of monolithic authority at work trying to bear down on heretics.

More and Wolsey had their own agendas (as we would say) and they were not necessarily the same. Monmouth's appeal to Wolsey did, as it were, try to hit all the right buttons as far as Wolsey was concerned, and one of these was the socio-economic button. Monmouth was a major purchaser of cloth throughout East Anglia. He explained in his writing to Wolsey how many men depended upon him for their work, and that whilst he was imprisoned in the Tower of London he was unable to carry on purchasing cloth. This was very important in the context of May 1528. War had been declared between England and the Hapsburg Empire largely as a consequence of Henry VIII's repudiation of Catherine of Aragon. However, it was very much a phoney war. The most serious consequences were not in fighting, of which there was little, but in the disruption of trade. Consequently there was large scale unemployment, followed by large scale unrest, particularly in the Home Counties. Wolsey began to receive reports of dissension, grumbling, and even plots against his life.

One such plot was hatched in the Weald of Kent, an area badly affected by the interruptions in the cloth trade. The plot was to kidnap Wolsey and take him out into the English Channel in a boat with holes bored in the bottom. Plugs would be pulled out of the holes and Wolsey would sink. Rather more thought had been given to the mechanics of sinking the boat than to how they were going to get hold of Wolsey in the first place, but it was indicative of the kind of resentments which were building up. Even John Tyndale, William's brother, was brought in and questioned at this time about anything he may have heard from clothiers in East Anglia. The authorities seem not to have realised that John Tyndale was the brother of William Tyndale and that William Tyndale was the translator *New Testaments* which were flooding into the country.

Further, being a churchman, Wolsey was concerned about the power of the priesthood, and Monmouth played on this too. Monmouth recalled that when he was in Rome on pilgrimage he had obtained a pardon for all his offences and that he had also received another pardon when Wolsey preached at St Paul's in December 1527. Therefore he had a pardon for any offences he may have committed. This put the authorities on the horns of a dilemma: either these pardons were valid, in which case Monmouth might have to be excused, or else they were not valid, in which case the Lutherans were right and Monmouth would again have to be excused. It was a neat argument, but one probably too clearly built on legal niceties.

Monmouth admitted having prohibited books. He said that he had a copy of Luther's *Freedom of a Christian Man* and the Lollard Tract *Pater Noster* on

his shelves, but defended them on the grounds that many of the Cambridge students that he supported had seen them and none of them had found anything gravely wrong with them. However what Monmouth did not address was why they had been bound with different names on their spines. Thus the work by Luther was actually bound as if it were by Augustine!

Monmouth's petition of May 1528 came to nothing and he remained in the Tower of London for a year. We know he was in the Tower of London for a year because heresy charges were not Monmouth's only troubles at this time.

In Hertfordshire Monmouth was a close friend of another merchant named John Sawyer. Sawyer had a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to James Poole. Within three years of each other, in the early 1520s Elizabeth lost both her father and her husband. Elizabeth and Humphrey Monmouth were executors of their wills. Elizabeth then remarried John Clifford, a leading member of the Mercers' Company and a close friend and associate of Sir Thomas More. Indeed, he had accompanied Thomas More on the embassy to the Low Countries during which More wrote his *Utopia*. Clifford did not approve of the way in which Monmouth was executing the wills and claimed that Monmouth was appropriating property which belonged to his wife, Elizabeth. Monmouth retorted that he had purchased the disputed land from Sawyer before his death.

The first round in the dispute opened in Chancery just before Monmouth's arrest. Monmouth's imprisonment caused the Chancery case to lapse. It then began again in the Court of Common Pleas, where the judge decided to put the case to arbitration. The judge appointed four prominent London citizens to arbitrate between Monmouth and Clifford. The arbitrators met in the King's Head in Fleet Street and interviewed the various parties, Monmouth, Clifford, and Elizabeth, in various combinations.

When they came to speak with Elizabeth alone she told a different story from the occasion when she had been interviewed together with her husband, and the arbitrators seem to have been coming to the conclusion that Monmouth probably had the best of the argument. At this point they received an extraordinary request from Sir Thomas More. More was now Lord Chancellor of England. The command was to come to Westminster to consult about the case. When they arrived, More, in effect, told them that they were to act indifferently but that they were to ensure Elizabeth got her inheritance. In other words, the arbitrators could do as they thought just, so long they came down in favour of Elizabeth, and, by implication, John Clifford. It is difficult to see that More had any good grounds for his intervention. It looks suspiciously like a misuse of his position as Lord Chancellor to influence

the arbitrators. It is most unlikely that he would do this to secure judgement in favour of a friend. However, More conceived himself as engaged in a higher battle, that to defend the true Catholic Church against the assaults and machinations of those such as Monmouth who would undermine it. The year was now 1531 and the literary spat between More and Tyndale was at its height. Tyndale's *Answer to More* was published a month after More's intervention in the Clifford case, but manuscript copies had already arrived in England and More knew at the very least that Tyndale's *Answer* was on its way. It seems very difficult to see this action as anything other than an attempt by Thomas More to use every means at his disposal to attack those who were or had been supporting his arch opponent, William Tyndale. The arbitrators found largely in favour of Monmouth, but Clifford kept the case going for another six years or so through different courts.

Monmouth in the end emerged more or less victorious, but it is an example of the way in which More was prepared to use his position to do whatever he thought necessary to defend the truth of the Catholic Church in England.

Monmouth was released from the Tower probably sometime in May 1529 just before More became Chancellor. After More's fall he was able to recapture his position in London society and he was elected Sheriff in 1535, a position of particular social and political responsibility. At about the same time there was a tax assessment which declared Monmouth's wealth at £1,000, a very considerable sum in 16th century England. By the mid 1530s Monmouth was prospering. He developed a friendship with Audley, the new Lord Chancellor, and it is clear too that he knew the new power in the land, Thomas Cromwell.

When he died at the end of 1537 Monmouth left what is one of the earliest wills clearly expressing reformed views. In place of the old trentals (the endowment of thirty masses) he made provision for a series of sermons to be preached by, among others, Robert Barnes and Hugh Latimer. He also made bequests to Thomas Cromwell and to Audley.

It is not easy to get Monmouth completely into focus. How genuine were his pilgrimages and his pardons? Was he really the hero of Stafford's story? Did he change his views through his contact with Tyndale? Perhaps the books on his shelf with one name on the spine and another on the contents are emblematic of Monmouth as an Erasmian supporter of William Tyndale, and as one who both saw the Old Jerusalem and set about building the New.

Review article

All manner of books

Peter Richards

Cambridge has been communicating in print since the fifteenth century. And when in 1583 it appointed its first university printer it founded the oldest press in the world.

If you take books as a handy measure of what we know, it's an eye-opener to be reminded that the Cambridge University Library contains 8 million printed items. In 1400AD the library didn't exist, except perhaps as a chest of books kept for safekeeping in the tower of Great St Mary's. By 1500, it had 600 books shelved flat on chest-high lectern cases in two rooms at the Old Schools – upstairs to keep them away from the damp. Among about 90 titles given by the Chancellor of the University, Thomas Rotherham, who died that year, were the first printed books to enter the library. Amazingly, 35 of them survive.

Since antiquity, books have been seen as the lifeblood of learning. In ancient Greece the library of Aristotle was legendary, its worm-eaten remains finally carted off to Rome when Athens was sacked in 86BC. In Alexandria, the royal library was in effect the first university. Founded in the third century BC, it reputedly held 600,000 book rolls of papyrus, each one wrapped round a stick and identified with a tag, stacked like loose rolls of wallpaper in numbered cupboards, boxes and barrels. Together they constituted a virtually complete collection of works written in Greek: the index alone ran to 120 books. Outside this '*chicken coop of the muses*', one observer recorded, lay cool open colonnades beneath which '*cloistered bookworms*' would work.

By the fourth century, rolls had been superseded by books as we know them: leaves of papyrus or folded parchment stitched along one side and sandwiched between boards. Rome by this time boasted 28 libraries and the new eastern capital, Constantinople, a library to hold 120,000 books.

Medieval libraries were tiny by comparison, their users only too conscious of being the custodians of a past inhabited by intellectual giants. The works of Aristotle still dominated the Cambridge curriculum when Newton arrived at Trinity in 1661. Textbooks were in short supply so instruction was mostly oral, but colleges regarded libraries as a priority and established them early. Large parts of the medieval libraries of Peterhouse (founded 1284), Gonville

Hall (1348) and Pembroke (1347) survive, often with ownership inscriptions. We know, for instance, that John Argentein (King's 1458) travelled to Italy to study medicine only because one of his books is inscribed: '*Questo libro e mio. Zoan Argentein*'. Everyday manuscripts like this, copied laboriously by hand, were usually the work of professionals who batched sections for speed, but they were still valuable, serving as sureties for loans and left on death to college libraries.

By 1300, Cambridge had its own scribes and illuminators, perhaps working beside Great St Mary's alongside the stationers who took commissions for books and supplied parchment, paper and writing materials. The London book trade grew up similarly around St Paul's, continuing so seamlessly into the age of print that by the time Dr Johnson's Dictionary was published it had become one of Europe's greatest publishing centres. In Cambridge the business was on a much smaller scale, but even before 1500 bookbinders, stationers and parchment makers were regulated by the University.

Over the century that followed, Cambridge came of age, transformed by Tudor patronage into a great European university. Slowly, from the 1460s, Renaissance learning began to penetrate the fens. Enterprising scholars spent years living in Italy studying medicine, law, classical Latin and particularly Greek, the language of the New Testament. After John Doker (King's 1451) blazed the trail to Padua, other King's fellows soon followed in his wake.

By the 1470s a few Italians had even made it to Cambridge: a Franciscan, Lorenzo Traversagni, expounded rhetoric and Stefano Surigone from Milan Latin style. Traversagni's book *The New Rhetoric* (1478) was written in Cambridge and printed by William Caxton in London only two years after Caxton had printed England's first book: a handsome edition of *The Canterbury Tales*.

Caxton was unusual in that he made money from printing. As an English cloth-trader in Bruges he had spotted a good idea and hired an experienced printer, Wynkyn de Worde, to bring the technology to England. Before his death in 1492 he published a hundred titles, and Wynkyn went on to publish seven hundred more. Both men died prosperous – which is more than you can say for Johann Gutenberg, the inventor of moveable type.

Gutenberg's immense 42-line Latin Bible, printed in Mainz in 1454–5 in two volumes totalling 1,292 pages, left him bankrupt. But his technology spread fast, particularly to Italy, where Venice became the printing capital of Europe, soon spawning its own innovations, such as the use from about 1500 of cursive Roman and italic letters that quickly superseded Gutenberg's Gothic type.

By 1480, a dozen years after Gutenberg's death, presses were at work in over 120 European towns, 30 of them in Germany and 50 in Italy. Strasbourg alone had 50 printers by 1500, each of whom could produce 200 pages an hour: an incalculable improvement on hand copying. Editions were usually of several hundred, but texts varied between books. Typesetting and proofing skills varied, and paper was valuable enough for leftover sheets to be reused in later editions; books came with long lists of errata so a scholarly reader could correct the text. In all, a staggering five million books were printed before 1500 in Europe, produced in 1,100 print shops in 260 towns.

Though universities were an obvious market, few people wanted to read huge Latin folios for fun. The Sorbonne invited German printers to Paris in 1470 to set up a press in the university, and the same thing may have happened in Oxford, where the Cologne printer Theodorico Rood started work in 1478, producing 17 books over seven or eight years.

London dominated the book trade so totally that after an initial flurry, provincial presses quickly faded out. At Cambridge, where fewer than a hundred students took degrees each year, the first printer was John Siberch, again of Cologne, who in 1520 received a loan of £20 from the University to set up a press in his house opposite St Michael's church (roughly where Caius porters' lodge now stands). He started well enough with a mixed bag of ten books – Galen in translation, a bootleg edition of a text on letter writing by Erasmus, a Latin grammar, and a little astrology and Nostradamus-type prophecy – but the business soon faded out.

With a population of under 4,000 – similar to Oxford – lack of demand and the difficulty of selling on printed sheets elsewhere was a problem. But at least as difficult for Siberch must have been the risks attached to printing in a university sliding into intellectual ferment and worse because of the Reformation.

The certainties of the medieval university were evaporating fast by the 1520s, and for students it was an exciting period. Since 1486, when the Italian-educated John Kay had become the University's first paid lecturer, teaching had been improving, and the pace picked up fast after 1501, the year the modernisers' champion, the pious ascetic John Fisher, became Vice-Chancellor.

Over the next generation, Fisher insinuated the University into the heart of the Tudor establishment with such success that Cambridge never looked back. Ultimately he died a martyr's death on Tower Hill, but not before helping to found three new colleges (Jesus, St John's and Christ's), securing the completion of King's College chapel and bringing Renaissance learning defin-

itively to Cambridge in the person of Erasmus (who didn't like the weather, the locals or the beer, but knew a thing or two about Greek and theology).

In 1535, the year Fisher died, the new learning was entrenched by royal command in the University statutes, and five years later given an unprecedented boost when the king endowed five regius professorships – of Greek, Hebrew, Theology, Civil Law and Physic [Medicine] – still today among the most prestigious academic appointments in the land.

Erasmus, as history students know, *'laid the egg that Luther hatched'*. And in Cambridge Fisher did much inadvertently to keep the nest warm. His own wish was to transform the Church from within by emphasising scripture, newly and accurately translated, so every ploughboy could understand it. But the power of printing drove religious change forward at a rate that no one had anticipated. Type sizes fell and paper grew thinner as technology improved, making mass-produced bibles ever smaller, lighter and easy to transport. Anyone literate could now become their own priest. In the 1520s the flood gates opened and Fisher, by then Chancellor of the University for life, found himself presiding over what posterity has come to recognise as the birth of the Reformation in England.

Fisher loved books. His private library, destined for St John's, filled 32 barrels when seized on his arrest. But now he not only preached energetically against Luther, but also supervised at St Paul's the first burning of his books in England. In Cambridge he organised a second bonfire, outside the west door of Great St Mary's.

Yet nothing could stop scholars and students discussing the writings of the continental reformers. Down the high street, the White Horse Inn (now beneath Keynes Hall, King's) became known as 'Little Germany' because so many reform-minded students met up there, sneaking in quietly by the back door. Fired up by an eclectic mix of ideas derived from Erasmus, Luther and the Lollards, they fell under the spell of the evangelical Thomas Bilney (Trinity Hall 1510) – known as Little Bilney on account of his height – and an Augustinian prior, Robert Barnes. Barnes's uncompromising attack on Cardinal Wolsey, made from the pulpit of St Edward's Church at Christmas 1525, is often taken to mark the start of the English Reformation.

The White Horse Inn circle was genuinely subversive: Bilney and Barnes were later burned as heretics, as was their friend John Rogers of Pembroke, the first of some 300 Protestants burned at Smithfield under Queen Mary. It was Bilney, too, who converted the so-called Oxford Martyrs: all in fact Cambridge-educated bishops, who burned at Oxford in 1555–6.

The earliest English editions of the Bible were printed abroad by transla-

tors such as Tyndale and Coverdale who met at the White Horse. So flourishing was scholarship that when Wolsey set up Cardinal College, Oxford (later Christ Church), he imported 17 of the first fellows from Cambridge, only to discover that many held violently Lutheran views.

With Cambridge full of heretics, Fisher sought to stem the flow of *'blasphemous and pestiferous'* books by getting the king to reinforce the University's traditional right to act as a licensing authority. The outcome was a royal charter of 1534 granting just those rights of censorship, but also something more: the right to hire three printers with the *'incontestable power to print... all manner of books'* approved by the University.

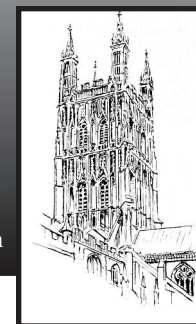
It was a profound expression of trust at a time when Fisher was in the Tower, to be beheaded within a year. Cambridge was in such ferment that in practice the first printer, Thomas Thomas (King's 1571), was not appointed until 1583. But Cambridge University Press has gone from strength to strength ever since, producing 2,200 new publications last year and turning over £130m. It is the oldest press in the world.

This article by Peter Richards has been printed with permission of the editor from *CAM*, the University of Cambridge Alumni magazine Lent issue 2006.

Annual Tyndale Lecture Gloucester Cathedral 2006

Pilgrim Routes to Santiago de Compostela

A lecture by Dr Steven Blake
Thursday 5th October 3pm



Followed by evensong
5.30pm & supper 6.15pm

Lecture only £6.50
Lecture & Supper £12.50
Tickets from David Green
tel +44 (0)1285 821651



Letters to the Editor

Dear Valerie,

The Gloucestershire poet, Peter Wyton, wishes to thank you for printing his poem, *The Ploughman's Printer* in the *Tyndale Society Journal* issue no 30 January 2006 (p.85).

He would also like to draw our readers' attention to the launch of his latest collection of poems entitled *The Ship In The City** in Gloucester Cathedral chapter house after the morning service on June 25th. It is a collection of 34 poems on the subject of Gloucester cathedral, and the people, famous and infamous connected with it for over 900 years. It is written from the historical point of view rather than the religious and is not entirely devoid of humour.

With best wishes
David Green
Email June 2006

*Copies may be obtained from The Poetry Monthly Press, 39 Cavendish Road, Long Eaton, Nottingham, and NG10 4HY, England. (price £5.75 inc p&cp).

Dear Valerie,

In her review of '*The 100-Minute Bible*' in the *TSJ* No. 30 January 2006 (p. 81), Angela Butler writes: '*Yet can one truly compress the 66 books of the Bible as we know it into a text of fewer than 100 pages, which can be read in one hour and twenty minutes?*'.

Given such a command of mathematics, is it any wonder that we read in Revelation 3. v. 3 '*... thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee?*'

Best wishes,
John Flood, Amersham
Email February 2006

Angela Butler, immediately after she had received her copy of the *TSJ*, commented: - "*100-minute Bible OOPS! Did anyone notice? My faulty arithmetic let me equate 100 minutes to one hour and twenty minutes instead of, correctly, one hour and forty minutes. Either way it seems to me a dubious proposition*".

Dear Valerie

If I am willing, albeit reluctantly, to accept for myself David Ireson's label of 'evangelical fundamentalist', coined in his *Ploughboy Notes* (*TSJ* 30), I am, however, as an Oxford educated academically minded Reader of thirty years' seniority, less willing to accept myself as one who is infected by 'the absurdity and unquestioning infantile simplicity of the fundamentalist'.

I am sure that all right-minded Christians, however 'fundamentalist', would accept David's first point in his analysis, since the Scriptures bear witness to it, and reinforced as it is by Tyndale in *Wicked Mammon*.

However, David's espousal of universalism is in on more shaky ground, relying on a very partial reading of Ephesians, and contradicted by much else of Paul, especially in Romans. Our Lord Himself spoke plainly of the saved and the lost, of the broad road and the narrow road. David should also read the closing pages of David Daniell's *Bible in English* where the author speaks movingly of the meaning of *dedikaiomenos* (justified).

Moreover, If David is free to make his points, erroneous as I believe many of them to be, it ought not to be necessary to direct them at a group of his own imaginings in such ungracious terms.

David is sure that 'fundamentalism will be discredited' in his lifetime. Many in England and Europe believed the same about William Tyndale's translations, which were viewed as dangerously false in their time.

Yours sincerely
Richard Carter, Sittingbourne, Kent, 16 March 2006
Founder Member of the Tyndale Society

Editor's note

The article entitled 'Common Worship: Daily Prayer' in *TSJ* No 30 from our hard working convenor of the Ploughboy Group, Rev. David Ireson, did encourage a few members to reach for their pens and keyboards. This letter from Richard Carter expresses the sentiments contained in them.

Book Reviews

Joanna Denny, *Anne Boleyn: A New Life of England's Tragic Queen*
Da Capo Press Copyright 2004 ISBN 13:9780306814747: ISBN 10:
0306814749

On a recent trip to Oxford I found myself inside the “Saxon Tower” – Oxford’s oldest building, and an unexpected find for Tudor enthusiasts; I must have missed it at previous Tyndale Conferences. In days of old, the Tower abutted on to the Bocardo Prison, where “heretics” awaited their deaths in the bonfires of Broad Street. Half way up the tower stairs, the curators have perched what is said to be the door to Cranmer’s jail cell. I gasped and pondered the portal as a medieval worshipper might reverence a relic. I dared not touch it.

With this kind of chance encounter, history comes alive. That is why museums, dramatizations, and documentaries complement traditional academic history. How could a Tyndalian think otherwise? The recent flood of Tudor books for the general reader has brought many interested ploughboys to the field.

In some ways, historians are at last doing justice to hitherto neglected areas of the subject. In particular, Tudor women’s voices are no longer silenced; they are queens, yes – but also mystics and reformers, who changed the course of their time. As a result, Anne Boleyn is deservedly treated as a complex and fascinating figure in her own right – more than just the Bride of Frankenstein.

Nor is the Big Fellow himself neglected. In the English Reformation canon, Henry studies have tended to dominate (rather like the man himself). Each generation brings its own distinctive take on King Harry and his appetites for wine, wives, and song. One interpretation popular in centuries past – the great monarch leading his people out of Romish darkness – has been consigned to the dustbin. Instead we are treated to the spectacle of a whingeingly self-centered tyrant, a macho boor of unlovely personal habits, obsessed with blood sports, and as prey to medieval superstitions as any of his contemporaries.

We like to think we’ve got the measure of the king, unlike those poor sentimental Victorians, but in fact we’re simply myth-making all over again. Later generations will indulge in anachronisms all their own. Whatever next – a Blairite King Henry? A Thomas Cromwell obsessed with the minutiae of low-income housing and community policing? A Dr Butts supervising an early national health system, with waiting lists, performance metrics and all the rest?

But I digress. This is Anne’s time, not Henry’s; and for all her husband’s

dominance, the queen has been fighting back.

It was Queen Anne herself who first drew my attention to the Tudor period, through the classic BBC production starring Keith Michell in the title role, *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (1970) – a programme my mother allowed me to watch although it was well past my bedtime. The Anne Boleyn episode – co-starring the late, great Dorothy Tutin – left an indelible impact. Of course I loved Michell as Henry too (the monarch’s commutation of his wife’s death sentence – *‘Tis too fair a day for sorrow’* – appealed to my sense of humour even then). These early experiences started me on a journey which led to my Tyndale Society membership and to this book review which you are reading today.

‘For the first time... the truth about Anne Boleyn’ is the surtitle to a new biography of AB by Joanna Denny. Inside the front cover we find this breathless blurb: *‘A new biography that reveals the truth about Anne Boleyn – intelligent, literate, and devout...and the truth about her king and his court – violent, scheming, and profane.’* These are bold assertions; can earlier biographers have been so badly off-track? Before you ask, Denny is the descendant of Sir Anthony Denny, the king’s servant in his last days, who knew Henry up close when the ailing monarch was at his most mercurial and tyrannical.

Denny’s Henry is definitely more Ray Winstone than Keith Michell; this Henry would fit right in on *‘Men Behaving Badly’*, *‘The Office’*, or other blokish TV fare. Now, Henry was a bully and a blusterer, but that is not the whole story. The new generation of Tudor historians claim to be chasing down the truth like Henry hunting down a wild stag. But in their quest for that truth they may focus on one facet of a historical personality at the expense of others which fail to fit their thesis. Or else they may introduce anachronisms of their own. It must be said that the giants of the Tudor period are ill-served by politically correct character sketches.

Denny is not the worst offender, but even she feels moved to tell us that Henry VIII, in his tenacious pursuit of Anne Boleyn, was what we might today call a “stalker”. His suitor’s gifts of freshly slaughtered deer are probed for Freudian significance (perhaps Anne simply liked a nice bit of venison for dinner?). Why bother flogging a dead horse, or dead stag, in this way?

The economics of publishing are a factor. Without getting up from my workstation I can see at least three Boleyn titles on my bookshelves, by Eric Ives, Carolly Erickson, Norah Lofts. In general, each new biographer is obliged by his or her publisher to come up with a fresh perspective on the subject. Denny sets great store by hers, so let us quote it in full:

‘From a first reaction of alarm, even repugnance, at becoming the target of the

King's unwelcome advances, Anne's feelings now changed dramatically. It was not the barrage of letters and gifts, the pestering attention or songs of love which brought about this sea change. It was not a growing affection for Henry or a desire to become his wife. Least of all was it personal ambition to be lauded as Queen with all the riches and dazzling privileges which Henry could give her. All Anne's ambition was now focused on what she could achieve for her faith should she be thrust into that exalted position. This is a very different picture of Anne from that later concocted by her enemies.'

The notion that Anne was a pious Lutheran maiden doesn't entirely wash. Henry had an abundance of conjugal piety from his first wife and had other things in mind when he fell in love with Anne.

There are dangers in being self-consciously innovative in a well-ploughed field. Denny wades into several controversies that have set historians on fire (how many pregnancies did Anne have with Henry? was Cranmer present at the secret wedding? is the National Portrait Gallery portrait really Anne?), but doesn't resolve them. Some assertions are over-confident (were Jane Seymour and Katharine Howard *totally* illiterate? Maybe so, but ...). Was Thomas More really impressed with Elizabeth Barton, the Nun of Kent (his biographer Richard Marius doubted it)? No revisionism for Thomas More here, thank goodness; in his salacious Tyndale-bashing rhetoric, More is definitely Less, a schoolboy scrawling smutty apothegms on the boghouse wall.

This leads us smoothly into what has become a customary feature of my TSJ reviews namely, the "*How Much Tyndale?*" paragraph. WT merits 10 citations in the index (what were you expecting, an entire chapter?), the bibliography lists the classic biography by our founder; but the references in the text have a pre-Daniellite flavour. This is not unexpected, but it is a disappointment.

What, then, does Denny do well? Some insights are telling - such as the King's unconcealed pride in his infant daughter (this tempers the chauvinist piggery just a little). I too had wondered about the suspicious lack of official portraits of Anne (there must have been others; what happened to them?). For the first time I read a really cogent explanation of what AB was doing in France and why, in the early stages of her life. The author covers the "*King's Great Matter*" period with vim and gusto.

What of the trial? If you read the older, antiseptic accounts of the end of AB's marriage, set in Victorian aspic, you might think - okay, there was a kangaroo court, a distasteful exercise to be sure, people got convicted and executed, but those were the breaks. No big deal, in other words. Denny peels away the layers of spin, and uncomfortably reminds us that Anne and her co-defendants were real people tossed into the meat grinder. The treat-

ment of AB's trial is cumulatively mesmerizing, hammering home detail upon detail, and leaving the reader in no doubt whatsoever (if you still had any doubt) that the entire exercise was a travesty.

This is where it gets interesting. The Wizard of Oz behind the curtain, the mastermind behind the trial (i.e. Cromwell), was not simply jettisoning a once valued ally who had become a millstone. The whole extravaganza was a tad too perfect, a shade too gleeful for that. And although the author may not say so, her implication is that Cromwell was not quite the friend of the Reformation he is always portrayed to be.

Denny wants to give credit where credit is due. *'Anne Boleyn was the catalyst for the Reformation, the initiator of the Protestant religion in England. The religious controversies of her day were Anne's motivation and driving force.'*

Neil L. Inglis, Bethesda, Maryland, June 2006,

J. Bruce Gordon, *The Swiss Reformation*, Manchester University Press, 2002 ISBN 0719051185.

Very few Tyndalians can begin to emulate Tyndale's skills in languages, and we are fortunate that in Bruce Gordon we have a scholar literate in the languages of the Swiss Reformation, and sufficiently polymathic to do justice both to the history and the theology of his subject.

To most English-speaking readers, the Swiss Reformation ended in 1531 with the death of Zwingli at Kappel, to be triumphantly if disjointedly concluded by Calvin at Geneva (not then, nor for several centuries, actually part of the Swiss Confederation). Gordon brings alive a Confederation of multicultural diversity, whose Reformation was barely begun in 1531 and whose maturity was marked, not by the death of Calvin in 1564, but by the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566. The overseer of this slow maturing was not Calvin, but Bullinger.

Gordon addresses with sensitivity and subtlety the nuances of the Confederation, without leaving the geographically illiterate totally floundering. They will be advised however to consult a map and keep the distinctions between Basle, Bern and Zurich clearly in mind, if they are not to be confused by the differences. Gordon highlights the distinct varieties of Reformation in the different Protestant cantons, and the crucial role played by the civil magistrates in its establishment. Accustomed to their role in confederacy, they

handled with confidence the illumination shed by Erasmus at Basle, and the different attitudes adopted by the reformers, the catholic cantons - a subject of their own, outside the scope of this study - and by the radicals.

Gordon depicts Zwingli in his prophetic role and makes of this John the Baptist a much more pivotal, and sympathetic, character than we are used to. The disaster of his death at Kappel was not an end, but a realignment, of reform. There was still a marked expansion of the Reformation, under Bern rather than Zurich, into the French-speaking Vaud, an area usually ignored despite its early reforming credentials. Better known are the fraught relations of the central decades of the 16th century with the Lutherans, a topic usually considered from the Lutheran viewpoint. Importantly, Gordon accentuates the long age of Bullinger at Zurich (1536-75) as the lodestar of the Reformation in this period; a unique authority which maintained a moderate and balanced version of Zwingli's reformism, acceptable to a conglomeration of reformed states who were by no means always the dominant element in the Swiss Confederation.

After thus reorientating the chronological study of the Swiss Reformation, Gordon then portrays something of the intellectual, social, and cultural climate of the time. He shows the not insignificant role of radicalism, partly Anabaptist and partly deriving from neglected aspects of Zwingli's own agenda. The structure of the reformed church in ministry, bible reading and worship is discussed, much in the manner of traditional histories, with a consideration of the society in which they functioned. More exciting are the final chapters, which consider the continuing influence of Swiss Reform on European and English developments. He shows the Swiss Confederation, in nurturing a fusion of Erasmianism with evangelical thought, at the cultural and intellectual hub of mid-16th century Europe. The brief sketches of some of this wide-ranging scholarship give an overwhelming impression of its achievement, not least because few of these scholars are well known to an English readership.

This is an excellent, subtle, and sensitive survey, irritatingly let down by the frequency of misprints which detract from the high quality of this interdisciplinary study by one of the most valuable scholars of his generation.

Margaret Clark, Ludlow, May 2006.

Mark Taplin *The Italian Reformers and the Zurich Church, c1540-1620* St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History Series, Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003 382pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. £52.50 (cloth), ISBN 0754609782.

Studies of the Protestant Reformation have long been dominated by interest in Northern Europe, but in recent decades Reformation scholars have begun to take an interest in the Italian reformers.[1] Mark Taplin's research on the relationship between Italian exiles and the leaders of the Zurich church brings the Italians, often considered peripheral to the Protestant Reformation, into the heart of one of the most important issues in mid-sixteenth century reformation history: confessionalization, or the process of systematizing religious doctrine that created distinct religious identities.

Taplin identifies two goals for his work. First, he wants to show that the Reformation grew out of many different centres, not just Wittenberg and Geneva. As part of this goal, he intends to demonstrate the importance of Zurich in international Protestantism, and the role in the development of mature Reformed theology played by lesser-known Zurich reformers such as Rudolf Gwalther and Josias Simler. Second, he addresses the process of confessionalization in the middle decades of the sixteenth century, which should be understood as a process of decisions made in response to current events. Specifically, he is concerned with the role religious exiles played in the systematization of Reformed theology. As one expects of an argument about sixteenth-century theology, Taplin uses primarily the published works of his subjects, as well as their correspondence. These sources are supplemented by archival research in Zurich, Graubunden, Basel, Bern, and the British Library.

The subject of this book is the community of Italian exiles from Locarno who took shelter under the protection of Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich city council from 1540-1620. He traces the history of Zurich's relationship with Italy in general and the Italian Reformers in particular. This relationship '*oscillated between co-operation and conflict*' (p. 13). Lacking state support at home, the Italian reformers never developed their own organized churches. As a result, northern reformers perceived their Italian co-religionists as vulnerable to heterodoxy. Indeed, in the 1540s, the Zurich reformer Heinrich Bullinger engaged in debates with Italian reformers over the Eucharist and antitrinitarianism. That early encounter with Italian heresy sets the tone for the future conflicts. However, there were many instances of cooperation between Zurich and the Italians, in the hope that the Reformed faith would eventually spread to the Italian states.

The relationship changed after 1555, when Zurich invited refugees from Locarno to establish an Italian-language Reformed church under the authority of the Zurich clergy. The Locarnesi church was led by Peter Martyr Vermigli and Bernardino Ochino, who was originally considered a thoroughly orthodox Reformed minister. The 130 exiles faced difficulties assimilating in Zurich, and were not accepted by the city's guilds. However, as *'long as the Locarnesi showed no signs of harbouring heterodox opinions'* (p.110), their church kept the support of the Zurich church. In 1563, after the death of Vermigli, Ochino's orthodoxy came into question. He published his *Dialogi XXX*, which caused concern in Geneva and Zurich. Bullinger found several points where Ochino's theology was not in line with the official position of the Zurich church, the most damaging the matter of the elect's participation in justification. This position meant that Christ was demoted to *'a bit-player in the drama of salvation'* (p. 164).

After the Ochino problem, the Zurich clergy consolidated its theology. The important texts from the 1560s and 1570s, the Second Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg catechism, were written partially in response to the heterodox Italians and their connection with Polish reformers. Polish and Italian antitrinitarianism inspired the Zurich clerics to develop their theology in more explicit detail, and to emphasize their commitment to the orthodoxy set out in the confessions of the early church. The Zurichers also intervened in Rhaetia, helping establish the authority of the Reformed ministers over the religious radicals. Finally, Taplin shows that the Ochino affair did not destroy the Italians' relationship with Zurich. Indeed, after the 1570s, the Zurich church financially sponsored the expansion of the Italian Reformed Church in Graubunden.

Taplin shows an excellent command of theological debates and their importance. However this book is not appropriate for those new to theology. He is to be thanked for bringing those who have long been ignored by Reformation scholars to our attention. His goals for this work are laudable, but the weakness of the book is that it often falls short of its promises. In spite of the ongoing publication of Heinrich Bullinger's works and correspondence, scholars, particularly those in the English-speaking world, are still unfamiliar with his theology, much less that of the more obscure Zurich reformers and the Italian exiles.[2] Even to one predisposed to accept an argument that establishes the importance of Zurich in a multicentred Reformation, this book does not prove that these events had any importance beyond the Swiss Confederation.

As a study of the theological development of the Zurich and Italian reformed communities, this is an excellent book. However, it does not do

much more than trace theological developments in these communities. One wonders how many books on forgotten theologians are necessary. The author could have addressed larger questions, such as the usefulness of the concept of confessionalization for later Reformation studies. Nonetheless, this is a welcome addition to our understanding of the Reformation.

Amy R. Caldwell, Department of History, California State University.

Notes

[1]. For recent works on the Italian Reformation, see John Tedeschi, *The Italian Reformation of the Sixteenth Century and the Diffusion of Renaissance Culture: A Bibliography of the Secondary Literature (Ca. 1750-1997)* (Ferrara: Istituto di studi Rinascimentali and Franco Cosimo Panini Editore, 2000), and Frank A. James, ed., *Peter Vermigli and the European Reformations: Semper Reformanda* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[2]. Readers interested in Bullinger should consult Pamela Biel, *Doorkeepers at the House of Righteousness: Heinrich Bullinger and the Zurich Clergy 1535-1575* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1991); J. Wayne Baker, *Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant: the Other Reformed Tradition* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1980); and Bruce Gordon and Emidio Campi, eds., *Architect of the Reformation: An Introduction to Heinrich Bullinger* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004).

This review was taken from H-German, H-Net Reviews July 2005.

www.h-net.msu.edu/reviews/showrev.cgi?path=185631126893073.

P.S.Barnwell, Claire Cross and Ann Rycraft (eds.), *Mass and Parish in late Medieval England: The Use of York* Spire Books 2005 ISBN 1904965024.

This collection of essays seeks to present in written form the substance of what began as a workshop on the medieval Requiem Mass according to the Use of York, with a reconstruction of the service conducted at All Saints, North Street, York, in 2002. This is a visual and musical study as well as a historical one, seeking to put in context and make available to the modern reader a sacrament central to the practice of the late medieval Church, but unfamiliar five hundred years later. As a result the text is lavishly illustrated with photographs of the re-enactment, as well as musical scores and useful maps.

The authors manage to assume no depth of previous knowledge of the City of York, Catholic liturgy, or the Reformation, without condescending to the reader. Thus they manage both enlightenment of the ploughboy and elimination of woolly thinking in those who might have considered themselves a cut above his level, in straightforward and workmanlike fashion. A description and explanation of the ecclesiastical organisation of fifteenth century York is followed by a clear description and illustration of the requisite clerical vestments and altar furnishings for the celebration of a Requiem Mass. The accidental survival of church music of the period, often as bookbindings for other volumes, is illustrated and made accessible to those with limited musical knowledge, and then set out in modern notation to be useable. The role of the Requiem or memorial Mass in late medieval thought

is discussed by a thorough examination of the evidence from wills from the parish of All Saints; the function of the chantry chapel is also placed in this context. An examination of the career of one parish priest, Thomas Worrell of St Michael Spurriergate throws light on the life and character of one such celebrant. The parochial situation in York is next put in the context of national Reformation changes, showing something of the effect change had on both clergy and laity, to whom this had all been so vital and to whom it was now suddenly denied, as sacramental “*had given way to the religion of the Word and the York Use had been quite forgotten*”. This was after all what Tyndale and the Reformers had sought for, but there had indeed been loss. Final chapters illustrate the celebration of the Requiem Mass as conducted on 20 April 2002, and provide a valuable text in Latin and English, reminding at least one reader of how much Cranmer retained and recast in the services of the Edwardian Prayer Books.

This is a teaching book but more than just a textbook, and makes far more understandable the medieval focus on the sacrifice of the Mass in parish life. In its seductive appeal it also explains why the reformers were so bitterly opposed to this centrality, and indeed why they needed to be. This is a valuable contribution to inter-disciplinary studies, with much to offer the general reader as well as the student. It might not necessarily be the staunchest Protestant’s cup of tea.

Margaret Clark, Ludlow, May 2006.

David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz, editors. *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004. ISBN 052177662 7

This book fills a gap in Reformation theology that is of use to those who need to be able to compare the different theological approaches to theology in the 16th century. Of course, in just a few pages of script, it is impossible to do more than paint a thumbnail sketch of the theology of a single Reformer. I felt sorry for those who were given the task of trying to make a coherent whole from several Reformers who, in various ways, differed from each other. I would never have been brave enough to tackle ‘*The theology of the English reformers*’. I gave up trying to write a 30,000-word dissertation – the theology of five Henrican reformers on a single doctrine: ending up with only William Tyndale.

Seventeen theological positions, from ‘*Late Medieval Theology*’ to ‘*The*

Council of Trent’ take up an average of just over 14 pages each. The value of each varies, some being more comprehensive in explaining the theology of their subject than others. There are plenty of books one can turn to if one wants to learn about the theology underlying any of the subjects covered; so what is the value of a book like this? I can think of two important reasons. First, if we want a theological overview of the period from late medieval to the Council of Trent. Second, if one is doing research into the theology of a small segment of the Reformation it enables a quick glance at how that research fits into the broader picture. Of course, it is not hard to find other reasons. Obviously I cannot attempt to say something on each. The chapters chosen have more to do with me than anything in the book itself, although I have made a balanced selection between single Reformers and different kinds of groupings.

Denis Janz has written about the different ways in which Catholicism expressed itself before the main thrust of the Reformation took place. He simply, clearly and briefly writes about the similarities and differences between five of the main theological options open to the orthodox Catholic. The Council of Trent left the Catholic Church with a monolithic theology. I found this chapter, as it bounced the theology of Trent against that of the Reformers, especially Calvin, a little off-putting.

Is it possible to pin the theological position of the Lollards down? Wendy Scase has taken the path I would have chosen as that most representative of Lollardy. She has taken those doctrines where Wyclif and the Lollards were most at odds with the medieval Church.

Scott Hendrix was faced with the length of time from Luther’s first stage of the Reformation to the end. After Luther’s first move towards reform he divides the chapter into ‘*Expansion*’, ‘*Refinements*’ and ‘*Elaborations*’. Hendrix has done well and we catch a glimpse of those doctrines that made Luther stand out as a Reformer.

Peter Stephens on Zwingli and Ian Hazlett on Bucer treat their subject in a similar way. Both of them take some main Christian doctrines and write about their theology in the context of others with whom they disagreed.

Carl Trueman writes on ‘*The theology of the English reformers*’. The difficulty of the subject is clearly portrayed with the details of the clashes which took place during that period, taking just one example, the clash between John Hooper and Thomas Cranmer, and those who sided with them. This period sowed the seed for ‘*the debates that were to tear the church apart under the Stuarts*’.

Some of the authors seem more concerned with the history or the biography rather than the theology of their subject. Admittedly some had an

impossible task, for example, *'The Scottish Reformation'*, where David Wright complains of the paucity of material which he could use.

The other chapters are: *'Hussite theology and the law of God'*, *'The theology of Erasmus'*, *'Melancthon'*, *'Confessional Lutheran theology'*, *'The theology of John Calvin'*, *'John Calvin and later Calvinism: the identity of the Reformed tradition'*, *'The theology of Thomas Cranmer'*, *'An introduction to Anabaptist theology'*, and *'Catholic theologians of the Reformation period before Trent'*.

It is a book I would recommend to anyone with an interest in the Reformation. The articles are well written and readable. I am certain that for those who are just interested in the Reformation it will stimulate an interest to find out more. For academics working in one sphere of the 16th century Reformation it will save time when comparing their area of research with the overall picture of the Reformation.

Ralph S. Werrell, May 2006.

Maria Dowling. *Fisher of Men: A Life of John Fisher, 1469-1535*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999 xii + 218 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 (cloth), ISBN 0312223676.

Martyrs' lives are shaped by their deaths, and nowhere is this more the case than with John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the only martyr aside from Thomas More and the Carthusian monks to meet his end under Henry VIII over the question of the divorce. But what if Fisher hadn't died the way he did, as defender of the church and Catherine of Aragon? Would he (or should he) deserve the attention he has had without the subsequent illuminations bequeathed by hagiographers? Maria Dowling argues that he should, and in her short biography of Fisher examines aspects of the man overshadowed by the dramatics of his death.

Fisher was a difficult and austere figure, without the humour or even perhaps the humanity of More, but Dowling's is a sympathetic portrait of a man who was Margaret Beaufort's confessor and executor, the founder of St John's College, Cambridge, a humanist (in Dowling's view), a prelate, preacher, cardinal and, finally, a traitor. Structured thematically, *Fisher of Men* divides the life into chapters which focus on Fisher's establishment, through Margaret's patronage, of St John's College and its curricular programme, his place and correspondence among leading humanists of the day, and his tenure as bishop of the small see of Rochester, where he emphasized preaching, wrote devotional works, confronted heretics and an emerging Protestantism, and

administered the diocese, to somewhat mixed result. Only is the last chapter devoted to Fisher's visible and aggressive role in the king's break with Rome, and the issues which made him such a relentless thorn in Henry's side.

Along with its treatment of the relationship with Margaret Beaufort, the book's strengths lie in Dowling's treatment of Fisher's erudition, and she makes a convincing case for his position in the early sixteenth-century humanist gallery. At St John's, Fisher would initiate a programme requiring the study of Greek and Hebrew (which he would also learn), and bring over Erasmus - with whom he corresponded - to lecture in 1511. Indeed, one of the more intriguing examinations in Dowling's book concerns Fisher's acquaintance with the great Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin, who sparked in him an interest, though not an embrace, of cabalistic philosophy. Fisher's dispute with Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples over the identity of Mary Magdalen has tended to contribute to subsequent claims that he was not a humanist; but his extensive library, pursuit of the biblical languages, and literary productions, Dowling writes, make him a significant intellectual figure of the time.

As bishop of the poor and unprestigious diocese of Rochester, Fisher did not perhaps enact as many reforms in administration and clerical abuse as he could have, but he was present and apparently well liked by his flock, and placed great emphasis on preaching. As Dowling writes, for Fisher *'the preaching ministry was an essential instrument to bring sinners to repentance'* (p.89). Equally important was the necessity of counteracting emerging heresies through treatises, most notably his *Confutation of Luther's Defence*, written in 1521. Interestingly, no heretic was burned in the diocese of Rochester during Fisher's tenure - a fact which Dowling attributes (somewhat questionably) to Fisher's ability to persuade heretics to recant; nevertheless, Fisher did preside over dealings with heretics, if not quite as brutally as John Foxe would describe, and was forced to confront Protestants, including Hugh Latimer, at his own university of Cambridge.

Dowling finally treats Fisher's relationship to the king's divorce in a straightforward fashion, arguing that the animus between the bishop and Henry has been overstated, and revolved above all around questions of papal authority and Christian unity. Relying heavily on the (somewhat problematic) dispatches of the imperial ambassador Eustace Chapuys, Dowling describes the dilemmas at stake and the intransigence on all sides, which would finally lead Fisher to treasonous intrigues. Dowling goes on to argue that Pope Paul III was motivated primarily by a desire to recognize Fisher's *'notable learning and talent'* (p. 163) when he bequeathed the cardinal's hat on him; one wonders whether the pope would have been so naive as to not foresee Henry's

explosion at the news, but in any case, Fisher's fate was sealed. Moreover, according to Dowling, after the execution of Cardinal Fisher, *'there was no way back to Rome unless [Henry] humbly submitted,'* which he would not do; thus did Fisher's death represent *'the turning point in Henry's ecclesiology'* (p. 174) - and, one might add, England's.

Dowling's biography can feel somewhat redundant and truncated at times, as it moves quickly through the themes which animated Fisher's life and work. One wishes, for example, that more analysis had been given to the larger theological and political battles concerning the divorce, including the arguments brought forth by the king and his men. In addition, greater attention could have been paid to Fisher's choice of death, especially as it existed within a larger context of martyrdom and the ideal of suffering and *imitatio christi*. While Fisher's pursuit of humanist studies may have marked him as a man of his age, he also died in full embrace of tradition and the church, harkening back to older ideals at the same time that he represented one of the first in what would become a new, sixteenth-century wave of Roman Catholic martyrs. Similarly, a lengthier examination of the news of Fisher's execution, including the reaction on the continent, would have been interesting, not only in illuminating larger international relations but in examining the ways in which one particular martyr was subsequently memorialised through the ages. In general, however, and despite these lapses, Dowling has written a very good and readable short account of Fisher's life, shedding valuable light on important aspects of the man before he became the martyr, dying for the true church and attainment of *'the glorious country of heaven'* (p. 89).

This review by Sarah Covington, Department of History, John Jay College of Criminal Justice at the City University of New York was first published by H-Albion in May 2001

Jaroslav Pelikan, *Whose Bible is it? A history of the scriptures through the ages* Allen Lane ISBN 0713998776

The project of this book is ambitious: nothing less than the story of the Bible, from the primitive oral tradition to the latest translations and commentaries. Only a writer as scholarly as Jaroslav Pelikan, well-known for his historical and exegetical studies, could cover the vast subject simply and succinctly.

This is not a book for the advanced student, but for the reader who maybe familiar with the contents of the Bible, but knows little or nothing of its development and background. Even the expert, however, may discover some new insights and connections.

The theme is the making of the whole Bible as understood by Christians, including the Apocrypha, and there is a brief account of the purpose and substance of each book. Critical questions of date and authorship are touched on lightly, if at all, but to attempt more would have gone far beyond the scope of the book.

The Bible is not to be seen as the New Testament alone, with a vague sense of other writings that preceded it. Pelikan gives much attention to the Old Testament - here known throughout as the Tanakh - and reminds the reader that some three-quarters of our Bible is as much the property of Judaism.

He makes a great deal of the problem of language and of continual translation - often of a previous translation rather than the original tongue. The Septuagint, which brought the Jewish scriptures to the Greek-speaking world and was known and quoted by early Christian writers, is in places far enough away from the Hebrew to have caused some misreadings that were perpetuated for centuries.

In the course of transmission, there have been errors, contradictions and obscurities, so that the reader may well feel like asking not 'Whose Bible?' but 'Which Bible?'. Pelikan steers us through these difficult waters, continually referring to the different approaches to the scriptures of Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants. The treatment of the last-named as a blanket category without regard to the many differences between Churches that might accept that title is one of the few weaknesses in the book.

It is wisely noted in the introductory chapter that *'The history of Jewish-Christian relations, and then the history of the divisions within Christendom, is at one level the history of biblical interpretation'*. Pelikan examines the question posed in the title with serious regard for the many problems that it raises. His conclusion is that, when all is investigated, the Bible is indeed the Word of God to faith communities.

The Revd Dr Chapman,
Emeritus Professor of English in the University of London.

This review was published in the *Church Times* 30 December 2005.

Editor's note

Professor Jaroslav Pelikan was forced to withdraw, due to ill health, as keynote speaker from the Fourth Oxford Tyndale Conference in September 2005. It was with great regret that we learnt of his death this year in USA. We hope to print a full tribute to this renowned scholar of the history of Christianity and of medieval intellectual history in the next issue of the *Tyndale Society Journal*.

Caroline Chartres (editor), *Why I am Still an Anglican*. Continuum Books, 2006 pp. vii + 167 £12.99 ISBN 0826481434

In this small book, based on interviews, 15 people from widely disparate backgrounds describe in deeply felt, intimate confession their individual journeys to belief. There are writers, clerics, a humorist, a politician, a judge, a musician, a scientist, and among them the rock-fast and the doubter. Lucy Winkett (Canon of St Paul's Cathedral) makes you laugh; Ian Hislop (Editor of *Private Eye*) makes you cry; Elizabeth Butler-Sloss (High Court judge retired) makes you think.

It is a great satisfaction that a number of these outstanding individuals are involved in the Tyndale Society.

Mary Clow, July 2006

North American News

Report by Jennifer Bekemeier

US Membership Office, June 2006.

Upcoming Events:

Please mark your calendars for the Tyndale Society's next North American conference to be held at Regent University in Virginia Beach, Virginia, 20-23 September, 2007. In addition to wonderful sessions that focus on the Bible's impact on a young America, we will also be visiting the Jamestown Settlement and The First Landing to commemorate the 400th anniversary. A call for papers will be issued by September 2006. If you have questions, please direct them to the North American office. Registration will not be open until January 2007. At this time, you may visit www.tyndale.org for the most up-to-date information on registration, schedule and details.

People:

We would like to extend a heartfelt thank you and farewell to Melissa Baldrige who has so graciously assisted with the North American membership office since January 2005. Melissa recently completed an M.A. in Counseling at Regent University and has moved to North Carolina to work in this field. Thank you, Melissa, for your dedication and hard work!

We also offer a warm welcome to Rebecca Morgan who has recently begun assisting with the membership office. Rebecca is a native to Virginia Beach, Virginia, and worked at Regent University for nearly eight years. Her commitment to excellence and incredible attention to detail will serve as a great advantage to the efforts of the North American office. Rebecca can be reached at rebemo1@regent.edu.

Worcester Conference

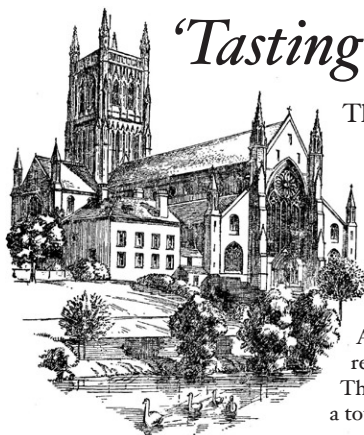
'Tasting the Word of God'

Thursday 8 March to Saturday 10 March 2007

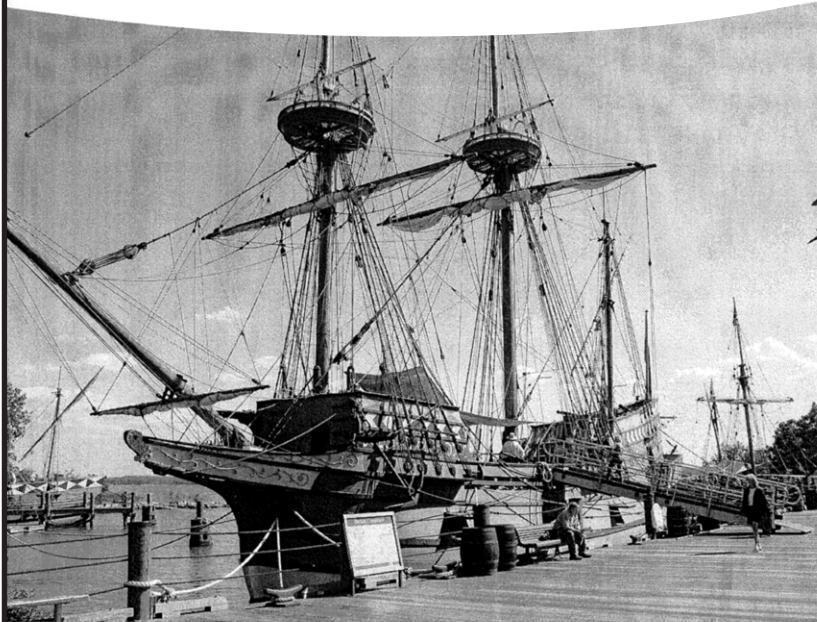
Keynote speaker Dr Carl Trueman,
Associate Professor at Westminster Theological
Seminary, Philadelphia.

Further details please contact Mary Clow.

An opportunity to learn about the lives of the
reformers Latimer and Hooper, bishops and martyrs.
The programme will include a visit to Gloucester and
a tour of Tyndale sites in the area.



2nd INTERNATIONAL
TYNDALE SOCIETY
CONFERENCE IN VIRGINIA



How the Bible came to America

Virginia Beach and Jamestown, Virginia
20-23 September 2007

commemorating America's 400th anniversary of the Virginia Colony
and the arrival of the English Bible there.

www.tyndale.org

Exhibition Reviews and News

The Saint John's Bible

Report by David Green

The exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (which closed on 1 May 2006), illustrates a truly remarkable project, Nothing less than a complete handwritten and illuminated large-format bible in seven volumes.

This is a work in progress and was the idea of Donald Jackson, calligrapher and senior illuminator to H.M.Crown Office. Donald Jackson spent twelve years from 1969 lecturing and demonstrating his calligraphic skills in the USA, before being given the commission for this project by the Benedictine Abbey and University of St John's, Minnesota.

In an article published in issue no 75 of the *Journal of the Society of Scribes and Illuminators* (Summer 2002) Jackson tells the story of this undertaking and remembers all the joys and difficulties encountered. His production team of six principal scribes and about the same number of illuminators was swelled to 24 by the involvement of other expert advisers and assistants. They continue to work in Donald Jackson's scriptorium near Monmouth, Wales.

The translation chosen was the New Revised Standard Version as it is 'widely used by non Catholics including Church of England and Non-Conformist churches'. The work was started in 2000 and was scheduled for completion in seven years.

The large two-column format, on calfskin vellum supports powerful illuminated pages and other lavish decorations to the text. Notes in the margins Jackson writes 'include comparative interpretations in informed but inclusive modern language'. The whole production is aided by smaller sized concertina printouts from the computer.

After much searching the vellum selected comes from the parchment firm of William Cowley in Bedfordshire and the quarter-sawn boards for the covers of each volume are from an 180-year-old oak near Powys Castle in Wales.

The combination of ancient and modern techniques using animal skins, hand cut swan, goose and turkey quills, gold leaf, natural hand ground inks and pigments with binders of egg and casein is clearly illustrated. The designs for the illuminations are frequently built up by means of collage and even include rubber stamps.

The project is still ongoing and presented well by this small exhibition. It was well worth a visit for, in addition to the photos and drawings, there are five large finished illuminated leaves from Isaiah, Daniel and the Psalms. These are dramatic, vivid and glowing in blues, gold and violet. The St John's Bible when complete will provide superb evidence of devotion and should speak through the eye to many hearts.

References

Christopher Calderhead *Illuminating the Word* The Liturgical Press, P07500
Collegeville Minnesota 2005 ISBN 0-8146-9050-5.
www.saintjohnsbible.org

Exhibition at the Tate Modern: Holbein in England

Report by Valerie Offord

28 September 2006 to 7 January 2007

Hans Holbein the Younger (b.1497/8 Augsburg d.1543 London) was the first great painter to work in England. His arrival effectively brought the Renaissance in painting from continental Europe to Britain. This major exhibition, which includes many remarkable loans, concentrates on the work Holbein produced in England under the patronage of Sir Thomas More and for the court of King Henry VIII.

Bringing together forty portrait and subject paintings as well as portrait drawings, decorative designs and prints, *Holbein in England* not only demonstrates the range of Holbein's extraordinary skill and accomplishment as an artist, but will also reassess the impact of his presence on English cultural life in the reign of Henry VIII.

Holbein in England concentrates on the artist's two periods working in London: 1526-8 and 1532-43. For the first three years Holbein was working under the patronage of Sir Thomas More, a friend and admirer of Holbein's previous patron in Basel, the important Humanist scholar Erasmus. He left London in 1528 for Basel but returned in 1532 and stayed until his death in 1543. During this latter period Holbein is best known for his portraits of King Henry VIII, the artist's patron from 1536-9.

Structured both chronologically and thematically, a section of the exhibition will be dedicated to the images of the king and his family. Other

sections will look at members of the royal court and examine the revival of intellectual learning of secular Humanism, the turmoil of religion and the Reformation.

Throughout, the exhibition will investigate the development of Holbein's portraiture and the relationship of its differing forms to the various groups of patrons for whom he worked. It examines his work for the Protestant Reformation in relation to traditional religious beliefs and explores how he used his own portrait drawings and paintings, as well as other sources including sculpture, to develop a finely poised balance between individualised character and ideal presentation. Finally, the exhibition will highlight the artist's contribution to the revolution in English decorative design, examining the ways in which his sophisticated understanding of the new classical decorative vocabulary was applied to designs for goldsmiths as well as to large-scale paintings.

Tate is fortunate enough to have secured many major loans for this exhibition including the prime portrait of Henry VIII by Holbein from the Thyssen-Bornemisza Museum in Madrid. This is re-united for the first time in centuries with the portraits of Henry VIII's third wife Jane Seymour, lent from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and his son Edward, Prince of Wales, from the National Gallery of Art, Washington. Many other loans come from the Windsor Castle and the Royal Collection and major European collections, many being lent for the first time in living memory.

Information from www.tate.org.uk/britain/exhibitions/holbein

The Wardington Library Bible Auction

Report by Eunice Burton

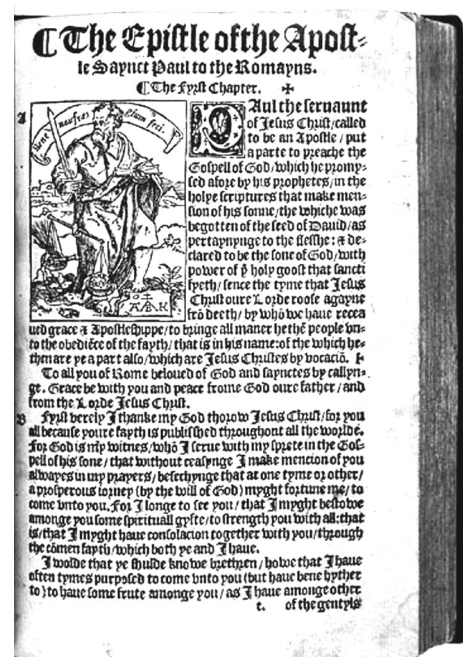
July 2006.

Lord Wardington, 2nd baron, book collector, was born on 22 January 1924 and died on 6 July 2005 aged 81. Not only did he collect Bibles but he also had an unrivalled collection of atlases. Both collections have been offered for auction during the past year.

The Library of the late Lord Wardington was offered for sale by Sotheby's on 12 July 2006, the event being preceded by 4 days of public viewing. Mary Clow, chairman, and other members of the Tyndale Society spent a

memorable afternoon at the exhibition, where it was possible to examine the lots unhurriedly, facilitated by a very fine catalogue. It was a privilege to see and touch these rare volumes, and I found studying the provenance was sometimes almost as fascinating as viewing the books themselves.

A quotation from Lord Wardington's own library catalogue described the collection by generations of his family (Pease) and gave a succinct history of the English Bible from the *Poem of Caedmon* and Bede to the New English Bible of the 1970s. Of special interest to Tyndalians were a copy of Tyndale's New Testament (Antwerp 1536) with fine woodcuts ('mole' edition) and incorporating Tyndale's Prologue to Romans and the Epistles of the Day, a copy of Tyndale's New Testament (Antwerp 1536, partially reprinted London 1549) and a Diglot of Tyndale's New Testament (London 1550) 'in Englishe after the greeke translation annexed wythe the translation of Erasmus in Latin'. Another Tyndale New Testament – noted as 'an excessively rare edition' by John William Pease in 1887 – was published in London in 1561: but the title page shows a woodcut of the young King Edward VI with dedication



The Engraver's Mark edition of *The Newe Testament yet once agayne corrected by William Tindale Antwerp? 1536*.

and calendar. His untimely death in 1553 apparently prevented the planned publication, which was delayed until Mary Tudor had died and Protestant Elizabeth reigned – a moving example of the cost of possessing a Tyndale New Testament in the 16th century.

In addition there were impressive copies of Coverdale's version (Antwerp 1535), Matthew's version (Antwerp 1537), Taverner's version (London 1539), 6 copies of the Great Bible (various editions, London 1539, 1540, 1541), the Bishops' version (London 1568) and the Geneva version (London 1578, 1580) through to the King James' version of 1611 – many notable because of specific errors and some incorporating the Book of Common



Illustration of St Matthew from Tyndale's New Testament Antwerp 1536 (so called 'mole' edition) which was sold in the Sotheby's Auction 12 July

Prayer (Cranmer and 1662). There were examples of exquisite silk and silver thread embroidered bindings (1628) and elaborately tooled gilt designs on leather – a feast for the eyes, as were some mid-late 20th century modern bindings with colourful designs, mainly the New English Bible. It was interesting to compare Francis Fry's Description of the Great Bible with the original, and one could have spent hours viewing manuscripts, missals, Bibles with comments by John Wesley, Bibles in foreign languages and devotional works.

It is regrettable when a unique collection is dispersed but this sale is relevant to the Tyndale Society as three Tyndale New Testaments and

a Coverdale Bible were purchased by a 'collector' member of the Society who hopes to display these and other historic Bibles in a small museum attached to a church in London. So watch for notice of another London Study Day in 2007!

Sources and further information

The Wardington Library Bibles Sotheby's Catalogue, London 12 July 2006.

The Times Obituary Lord Wardington The Times 3 August 2005.

www.telegraph.co.uk Obituary Lord Wardington filed 20 September 2005

Cost of advertisements in the Tyndale Society Journal

Full Page....£80/\$160 1/2 Page....£60/\$120 1/4 Page....£40/\$80

Inserts...£150/\$300 [only if members of the Society are offered a discount on the book or other merchandise being advertised in the insert]

25% discount will be given to members placing advertisements*

*For members placing small advertisements the charge is £1/\$2 a line (up to a maximum of 4).

That which was lost is found

Compiled by Valerie Offord

Two religious books were recently re-acquired by Durham Cathedral after having been 'lost' in other collections for nearly 500 years.

The first was an illuminated manuscript Bible in Latin used by monks before the dissolution of Durham Priory by Henry VIII in 1539. This medieval bible still bears the fingerprints and signatures of the 14th century monks who copied it. The second book, printed in Paris in 1512 and containing the works of St Cyprian, had belonged to Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham in the 1530s.

The books were purchased with the aid of the Museums, Libraries and Archives Fund and the Friends of Durham Cathedral.

Source

Stephen Bates *Lost Religious Books restored to cathedral* **Guardian** 2 February 2006.

The Friends of God is designed to be a family treasure. It is an illustrated book of hours for the 21st Century, depicting how the Holy Spirit has worked over 2000 years through the lives of the Saints. This modern 'Book of Hours' has been highly praised by clerics and educationists of all Christian denominations. The book, - with 85 full-colour illustrations and 390 pages – is beautifully bound in leather and cloth, with gilded leaves and enclosed in a presentation box. It is an ideal gift for all age groups or for those seeking or renewing faith.

This limited edition is available for £60 plus postage.

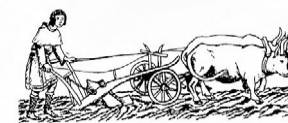
For Sales information please contact:

www.thefriendsofgod.com

or call Ferard Reeve Publishing on +44 (0) 1903-813581

THE FRIENDS OF GOD

Written by Tim Reeve and illustrated by Diana Catchpole



Ploughboy Notes

Reflections on a Visit to Harvington Hall

David Ireson, Group Convenor

The Ploughboy article in the last Journal elicited many a robust response from those who found my thoughts quite unacceptable. I apologise. I intended my thoughts to reflect those in Professor Keith Ward's book *What the Bible really teaches*. Clearly, there is no consensus; the chasms which divide Christians still run deep. The ecumenical imperative remains but it seems the angry wounds will not be healed for many generations. Having many responses from those happy to label themselves fundamentalists, I thought I would visit a site hallowed by the Roman Catholic Church, to see how many clung to the Catholic faith throughout the turmoil of the Reformation period. The site I visited was Harvington Hall near Kidderminster in the Midlands, which is associated with the Franciscan priest, John Wall. The visit was most worthwhile and highly recommended.

Harvington Hall is a beautiful moated house which has been superbly restored and maintained. Visitors are made very welcome and allowed to photograph and explore every part of the house and the grounds. Many schools must visit the house. There were rabbits and pigeons ready to be prepared in the kitchen, the rooms all looked very lived in. Unlike many

National Trust Houses once owned by the rich and powerful and so filled with priceless silverware and with masterpieces on every wall, you walk through Harvington laid out as it might well have been in Tudor and Stuart times. It was quite refreshing to visit a "living" house rather than a museum with too many notices and cordoned walkways. It was a joy to visit and so easy to imagine oneself back in the 1660s. The priest's hiding holes remain, and the rooms which were used as chapels are set out ready for Mass.



John Wall went to the English College in Rome in 1641. During the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I more than thirty former students of the college were captured and executed in England. John Wall served in the Midlands briefly from 1650 before time at Douai, and then again from 1656 in Warwickshire. He kept on the move and those priest's hiding holes were used for real. He was not captured at Harvington, but at Rushock Court. The sheriff's deputy arrived with soldiers in search of a man who was in debt. John Wall was arrested by mistake but identified as a Catholic by one of the soldiers who had once been a servant in the house.

In 1678 Titus Oates published a *True and Exact Narrative of the Horrid Plot and Conspiracy of the Popish Party to murder the King*. John Wall was imagined to be a priest who was about to be involved with the burning of London, the blowing-up of Whitehall and taking part in an imagined uprising to slaughter Protestants. At his trial there was no evidence that he was ever likely to do any of these things, but he was not prepared to swear the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance: He was clearly a Catholic priest. He wrote 'God's will be done. The greater injury and injustice done against us by men, to take away our lives, the greater our glory in eternal life before God.' So it was that he 'resolved to shed his blood in God's quarrel, rather than swear and conform against the divine law and that of his conscience'. In Worcester, he was hung, drawn and quartered, after the execution of two criminals, on 22 August 1678.

A short biography of John Wall by Michael Hodgetts begins with these fine words: 'The Tudor and Stuart martyrs, on either side of the theological rift, should not be either an excuse for continuing old quarrels or a reason for embarrassment. They should be a reminder that a Christian is baptised into the death of Christ, and that the Kingdom of God is not to be identified with the dominance of any faction or party.'

Harvington Hall is worth a visit; not a rushed one, it needs a few hours. It challenged me to consider again just how the Tyndale Society might avoid the prejudices and evils of the past and how Protestants and Catholics might continue to work together for unity.

When the fundamentalist proclaims that their exclusive 'Christian' community is saved and everyone else is going to burn, I would echo Keith Ward's words: 'Common human decency might lead us to doubt such an extraordinary interpretation of John's Gospel.'

The evangelical Tyndale wrote in *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon*: 'I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved

me.' I wonder what he would say about those who at present are so easily persuaded to demonise all followers of Islam.

William tried to wrest the Gospels from the clerics of the Church and give ploughboys the Word in plain English. We ploughboys can all interpret for ourselves the parable of the Good Samaritan or understand that healing miracles exhort us to compassion and to lovingly serve those who suffer, but if we are to be spared the absurdity and unquestioning infantile simplicity of the fundamentalist then we must make the effort to study and understand Scripture. As the saying goes, when we look into the well which is two thousand years deep to discern the image of Jesus we must be sure that we are not just seeing a reflection of ourselves.

A fascinating passage from Brian Moynahan's biography made it clear that Tyndale acknowledged the need for thoughtful study and interpretation. Writing in *An Exposition upon the First Epistle of John* in 1531 he quotes William:

"I have taken in hand to interpret this epistle... to edify the layman, and to teach him how to read the scripture and what to seek therein." It was not enough for a father and mother to beget a child, he said; they had to care for it until it could help itself, and "even so it is not enough to have translated... the scripture, into the vulgar and common tongue, except we also brought again the light to understand it."

Some fundamentalists, aware of the derision of so many of their incredulous neighbours, become ever more selective in the texts they quote, more restrictive in who they regard as "saved" and belong to 'Christian' communities which are ever more exclusive. Hopefully the fundamentalist bubble will burst soon. Real Christianity demands the effort to cross over deep chasms of history, geography and culture if we are to root our faith in Christ. It will cost us "not less than everything"...

Some recent books with a Tyndale perspective

A personal selection by Vic Perry
April 2006.

First to be noted is the Wipf and Stock reprint of *Parker Society English Reformation* volumes as paperbacks. Among the 16 volumes issued so far (April 2006) are two of the Tyndale volumes: *Doctrinal treatises and intro-*

ductions to different portions of the Holy Scriptures and *Expositions and notes on sundry portions of the Holy Scriptures, together with the Practice of Prelates*. The third volume, containing *Answer to More*, *The testament of Master William Tracy* and *The Supper of the Lord*, is announced for imminent publication. The third volume is also available on a CD from Sola Scriptura www.solascripturapublishing.com.

The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology edited by David Bagchi and David C. Steinmetz (CUP) contains a chapter by Carl R. Trueman on the theology of the English Reformers, which largely confines itself to the subjects of election and predestination, and the church. Tyndale's theology is briefly discussed in a section on *the shape of English Reformation theology*, where the first quotation, from the preface to the 1525 NT, is slightly abridged by Prof. Trueman and slightly mangled by the printers.

Voices of the English Reformation: A Source Book edited by John N. King (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press) prints extracts from Tyndale under *Bible translation and commentary* and *Selfhood and obedience in church and state* as well as an extract from Foxe's life of Tyndale.

Reading Romans through the centuries: from the early church to Karl Barth edited by J. P. Greenman and T. Larsen (Brazos Press) contains chapters on eleven theologians, among whom is Tyndale. Dr Greenman writes this chapter, discussing briefly not only the Prologue to Romans, but also A Pathway into the Holy Scripture and The Obedience of a Christian Man. While for Tyndale a man is justified by faith only, he wants to guard against any suspicion of antinomianism: Christians love God's law, which is the same as loving his will. There is a welcome emphasis on the work of the Holy Spirit. Surprisingly in an essay on Tyndale a modern version of the Bible is quoted – which is identical with Tyndale 1534; amazingly we read, *'The complete 1526 New Testament and subsequent editions included prologues to most of the books'*; and a footnote confuses Philip Hughes, the Roman Catholic historian, with Philip Edgcumbe Hughes, the evangelical Anglican.

Masters of the English Reformation by Marcus Loane has been reprinted by the Banner of Truth. First published fifty years ago to mark the quadricentennial of the execution of Protestant martyrs including Latimer and Ridley, it contains mini-biographies of these two and Bilney, Tyndale and Cranmer. A foreword by the Bishop of Rochester underlines the place of the Bible in the lives of these men and the two fundamental and scriptural truths of the Reformation: *'the Pauline doctrine of Justification by Faith'* and *'the New Testament and primitive doctrine of Holy Communion'* in contradistinction to the teaching of the Church of Rome. A fifty-year-old book will inevitably show

signs of its age in places, but Canon Loane is a skilful, warm-hearted writer, and this book can be strongly recommended: a fine introduction to those new to the story, and a challenging refreshment to those familiar with it.

The Martyrs of Mary Tudor by Andrew Atherstone is published in Day One's *Travel With* series. These pocket-sized books both tell the story and guide one to places connected with it. One would not expect Tyndale to be included in this most useful book, but in an appendix on memorials the North Nibley tower is listed and illustrated.

Last and definitely least is *William Tyndale: the smuggler's flame* by Lori Rich (Christian Focus). This retelling for children is poorly-written and peppered with inconsistencies and errors. A recommendable account for children is *The Bible Smuggler* by Louise A. Vernon (Herald Press), sold in UK by Metanoia Bookroom.

www.greatsite.com

The World's Largest Dealer of Rare and Antique Bibles

Review by Bill Cooper

25 Jul 2006

On Saturday 1 July, those of us on e-mail received from Mary Clow a 'Tyndale Alert'. It concerned the auction at Sotheby's of the Wardington Library Bibles - a most important collection of early printed English Bibles - that were coming up for sale. It is only rarely that such Bibles ever come on to the market, and the prices, predictably enough, promised to be forbid- dingly high. That is always a shame, because there are many who would love to own and study just one such book, and would cherish it just as lovingly as the British Library does its own: but a lack of great wealth forbids it, and ordinary mortals must look wistfully on whilst these treasures disappear for- ever into the vaults of the mighty. It was therefore with some urgency that I wanted to bring another (more affordable and more permanent) source of early English Bibles to our members' attention. It is a website that has long been open for business on the internet.

The website in question is www.greatsite.com, and it advertises itself as *'The world's largest dealer of rare and antique Bibles, Bible leaves, and ancient theology books'*. A heady claim indeed, and one that begs to be tried out. The website is, in fact, the online showroom of The Bible Museum Inc, based in Phoenix, Arizona, and it boasts a \$50,000,000 inventory of early Bibles that

are for sale. Its turnover is so fast that the collection is best viewed online, as a printed catalogue simply cannot keep up to date.

However, The Bible Museum has long recognised that these precious volumes are out of reach for all except those national and private bodies that can afford them. It therefore offers to the ordinary reading public the opportunity of owning, if not an original (though these are available at usual market prices), then at least a high-quality facsimile. These include the 1385 Wycliffe New Testament - priced at \$175, or about £85; the 1536 Tyndale New Testament (with some 141 integral woodcuts - a splendid edition) at \$195, or about £100; the Matthew Bible of 1549 (which had brought together in 1537 all of Tyndale's translation including much of the Old Testament), at \$295, or about £150; the 1560 Geneva Bible at \$249, or about £130; and the 1611 King James, likewise priced at \$249.

The most impressive thing about these facsimiles is their sheer quality. They are all perfect copies and, where blemishes unavoidably exist in the originals, these are masked out to produce a wonderfully clean copy.

The 1385 Wycliffe was already known to me, as I used it for comparison when producing the Tyndale Society's modern-spelling edition of the Wycliffe NT of 1388, first printed by the British Library in 2002 - and still available! Likewise, the 1536 Tyndale, the Geneva of 1560 and the 1611 KJV were already part of my collection. I was therefore drawn to the 1549 Matthew Bible (see illustration), as this would virtually complete a most important series of early English translations. Suffice it to say, I was not disappointed. It is a splendid edition, and a most worthy addition to any Bible-reader's library.

It has to be said that the cost of overseas postage seems high at first sight, the Matthew Bible costing \$85, or about £40, to get to the UK. However, the volumes are all conveyed by Fed Ex Priority International Air, who would normally charge \$140 carriage, but because The Bible Museum uses that courier firm exclusively, the customer enjoys a \$55 (40%) discount on the postage. The books, of course, are reassuringly tracked all the way to their delivery address. Moreover, and here I was most impressed, I e-mailed my address and telephone number to The Bible Museum on the Friday evening, and at 7.30 on the following Monday morning, I was surprised to be standing on my doorstep signing for a superbly packaged Matthew Bible. That is an amazingly fast and secure service.

In all, when put to the test, the website delivered all that it promises, and gives students and readers of early English Bibles the opportunity to build up an invaluable collection of high quality texts at - most important - prices

that almost all can afford. The range of facsimiles is in fact greater than I have described, and goes on to include the 1455 Gutenberg Bible (for those who remember their Latin!), and a superb three-volume facsimile of Foxe's Book of Martyrs. Doubtless other additions will follow in the not-too-distant future, and it is always worth enquiring via the website what is being planned. And whilst enquiring, why not browse through what is already available? It is a surprisingly rich resource.

Tyndale Society Journal (March 1995- ISSN 1357-4167)

Editor Valerie Offord M.A. Cantab

Most back issues are available. £5

Orders should be sent to:

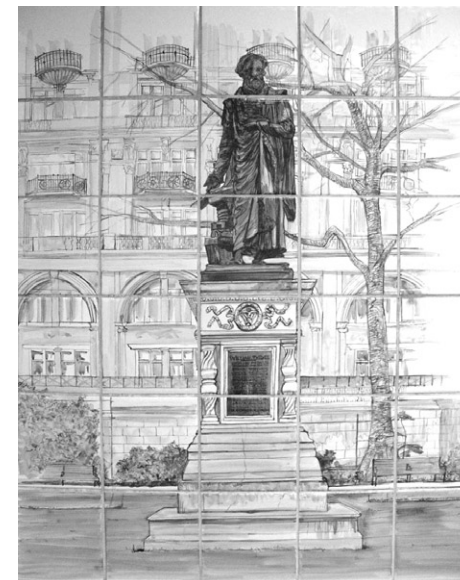
Valerie Kemp, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW,
UK. valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk

Tyndale Sightings

Competition

Where is it?

A small prize will be awarded for the most precise correct answer sent to the editor by 4 October 2006.



Requests from the Editor

Appeal for Book Reviewers

I am always delighted to hear from potential reviewers and suggestions of books suitable for review.

For the next issue No 32 of the *Tyndale Society Journal* January 2007 (deadline for copy **Friday 3 November 2006**) I should like volunteers to review the following books: -

Stefan Fussel *Gutenberg and the Impact of Printing* Ashgate 2005

Donald K. McKim *The Cambridge Companion to John Calvin* CUP 2005

Susan Wabuda *Preaching during the English Reformation* CUP 2002

Ralph S. Werrell *The Theology of William Tyndale* James Clarke & Co, Cambridge 2006

I regret that the Tyndale Journal cannot afford to pay a fee but you can at least keep the review copy!

Exhibition Reviewers

Reviews need not be confined to books and I should be delighted to receive more reviews of exhibitions especially in America.

News and Events

Please keep the editor informed of any events taking place or, preferably, about to happen which could be of interest to our readers. Advance notice is better than a report afterwards!

Advertisements

The type of advert we have in mind is for conferences, bookshops, private requests for buying and selling books, publishers' flyers for books of interest to our readership.

If you would like to advertise in the Journal or can persuade someone else to do so please consult the rates printed in this issue. Remember attracting adverts will boost the Society's income and keep subscription prices down.

For any of these matters please contact the Journal editor

Valerie Offord tel/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 email valerie.offord@bluewin.ch

Dates for Your Diary

2006

Wednesday 27 September 6pm

The Twelfth Annual Lambeth Tyndale Lecture, Lambeth Palace, London chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury to be given by Barnaby Rogerson, traveller and writer entitled 'Tyndale's Turks'.

Admission by ticket only - £10 lecture, £35 lecture and dinner afterwards at a local restaurant. Please apply to Mrs Valerie Kemp, Tyndale office, Hertford College, Oxford OX1 3BW, UK.

Thursday 5 October 3pm

The Annual Tyndale Lecture at Gloucester Cathedral will be given in the Parliament Room, Old Deanery by Dr Steven Blake, former director of Cheltenham Museum on 'Pilgrim Routes to Santiago de Compostela' followed by Choral Evensong and supper.

Lecture only £6.50. Lecture and supper £12.50

Further information from David Green, 22 Foss Field, Winstone, Gloucestershire, GL7 7JY, UK. tel. +44 (0) 1285 821651.

Thursday 19 October 5pm

The Twelfth Annual Hertford Tyndale Lecture at the Examination Schools, High Street, Oxford chaired by Dr John Landers, Principal of Hertford College, Oxford. The lecture entitled 'The English Bible and Piety in the Reformation' will be given by Dr Alec Ryrie, University of Birmingham.

It will be followed by a reception in the Principal's Lodgings, Hertford College. All members, friends and their guests are welcome.

Wednesday 20 December 12.30pm

Tyndale Society Annual Carol Service, St. Mary Abchurch, Abchurch Lane, London.

It will be followed in the evening from 6pm by the traditional Christmas party with a mystery guest at 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ (nearest tube stations Notting Hill Gate/Westbourne Park).

Please confirm with Mary Clow tel.+44 (0) 207 221 0303 or email: maryclow@aol.com

2007

Thursday 8 March to Saturday 10 March
Worcester Conference ‘Tasting the Word of God’ with Dr Carl Trueman,
associate Professor at Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, as
keynote speaker

An opportunity to learn about the lives of the reformers Latimer and Hooper, bishops and martyrs. The programme will include a visit to Gloucester and a tour of Tyndale sites in the area.

For further details contact Mary Clow

Monday 30 April

More about Wicked Mammon – A London Study Day with Brian Buxton to
examine further the support given to Tyndale and other Reformers by the
London merchants.

Meeting point at the City church of St Andrew by the Wardrobe.

Further details from Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0300 or email: maryclow@aol.com

Summer event

Hadleigh, Suffolk Day – The Story of Rowland Taylor – Reformer and Martyr.

Organiser – Michael Hammond.

Details: Mary Clow, 17 Powis Terrace, London W11 1JJ
Tel. +44 (0) 207 221 0300 or email: maryclow@aol.com

20-23 September

2nd International Tyndale Conference in Virginia, USA in conjunction with
the 400th anniversary celebrations at Jamestown. *How the Bible came to*
America

Details from Jennifer Bekemeier in the US Office.

To ensure that you have the latest information about forthcoming events
consult our website at www.tyndale.org.

Tyndale Society Officers:

Chairman Emeritus	Professor David Daniell
Chairman	Mrs Mary Clow, maryclow@aol.com
Vice-Chairs	Dr Barry Ryan (America) Sir Rowland Whitehead, Bt, rowlandwhitehead@hotmail.com
Treasurer	Mr Peter Baker, peter.baker@hertford.ox.ac.uk
Secretary to the Trustees	Ms Rochelle Givoni, rochelle@ctl.com

Key Contacts For Members And Friends:

Membership/Subscription Information

UK Office (all membership queries except US and Canada)
Mrs Valerie Kemp, Tyndale Society, Hertford College, Oxford, OX1 3BW, UK
Phone +44 (0) 1865 289152 valerie.kemp@hertford.ox.ac.uk

US Office (all membership queries for US and Canada)
Ms Jennifer Bekemeier, Tyndale Society, Regent University, 1000 Regent University Drive,
Virginia Beach, VA 23464, USA Phone: +1 757 226 4347 jennbek@regent.edu

Administration

Mrs Gillian Guest, Administrative Assistant, Tyndale Society, c/o Hertford College, Oxford,
OX1 3BW, UK. PMG7515@aol.com

European Representative

Mrs Valerie Offord, Le Grouet, 31 route de Pré-Marais, 1233 Bernex, Switzerland.
Phone/fax +41 (0) 22 777 18 58 valerie.offord@bluewin.ch

UK Contact

Mrs Priscilla Frost
27 Ditchley Road, Charlbury, Oxon. OX7 3QS, UK.
Phone: +44 (0) 1608 811818. Fax: +44 (0) 1608 819010. info@oxconf.co.uk

Publications Committee

Brian Johnson, bandr@johnson373.fsnet.co.uk

Ploughboy Group

Rev. David Ireson, Ploughboy Group Convenor
The Vicarage, Brendon Road, Watchet, Somerset, TA23 0HU, UK
Phone: +44 (0) 1984 631228, David.Ireson@btinternet.com

Webmaster

Dr Deborah Pollard, d.e.pollard@qmul.ac.uk, www.tyndale.org

ISSN: 1357-4167

